PRINCIPLES OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

LUNDQUIST AND CARVER

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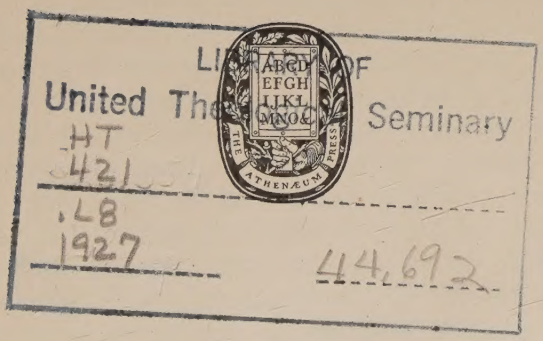

EVANGELICAL
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
91

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PREFACE

The aim of this book is to show how rural conditions, especially those in the United States, have come to be what they are. We must be able to answer that question before we are in a position to decide how these conditions may be bettered. Since social institutions depend upon constantly recurring social phenomena of all kinds rather than of one specific kind, the authors have repeatedly referred to moral, social, religious, and intellectual activities, as well as to those of a political or economic nature. Present-day achievements are more distinctively intellectual than moral. The intellectual achievements of the present day, moreover, differ widely from those of other days. Moral impulses change little, if at all, and moral practices not much more, in thousands of years. This fact is disclosed in the customs and practices in vogue among people in all climes under varying stages of development.

Civilization is little more than the art of living comfortably together in large numbers. Living together in large numbers has always created difficult problems, — provisioning a large population is, in itself, a difficult task; sewage disposal is another. But these crude physical problems, important as they are, puzzle us less than some of the more subtle and less tangible facts connected with the complex life of dense populations. Where there are many contacts between individuals, many points of disharmony as well as of harmony are sure to be discovered. These harmonies and disharmonies between individual interests call for the wisest possible adjudication and adjustment.

It may be profitable to philosophize upon what rural life has been and what it might be; but in this text it has been deemed practicable to confine our attention to ascertained facts and, as far as possible, to quantitative data. Tables which show the status

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of the rural population are therefore compiled from the best sources available. In most cases the tables are self-explanatory, and where interpretation has been necessary the authors have made observations which to them seem pertinent to a better understanding of the facts presented. To make clear the status of the rural dweller, comparisons with urban centers have been made repeatedly. This method has a twofold advantage: (1) the rural dweller may compare his own position with that of the urban dweller, and (2) city people may learn that the condition of country people is not as it is often pictured.

It is generally understood that we cannot divorce the present from the past if the present and the future are to be properly evaluated. In other words, development is continuous and shows no sharp breaks between past and present or between present and future. Therefore statistical data have been freely used. They have been brought up to the census of 1920 and in many cases to 1923. Rural, as well as industrial, conditions were unsettled in 1920; and for this reason it has been found necessary to compare the conditions of that year with those described in previous census years, in order to acquaint the student with conditions in what are commonly regarded as normal times.

The book is written primarily for American readers and is designed to throw light upon American problems. The scope of the text covers in a general way the entire country. Yet America can no more be dissociated from the rest of the world than present can be dissociated from past, or future from present. Consequently comparisons need to be made with other countries. In a few instances, where general data have been wanting, reference has been made to local conditions. In presenting this material the authors have had in view the interests of students and farmers who desire to make a study of those principles which underlie the effective organization of country communities. The statesman may find in the study of these principles reasons for establishing such laws and institutions as are needed to develop agriculture.

While the authors have been working in this field they have

realized more and more that we are still in the pioneer stage, and that the next few years will show great progress not only in research but also in education in rural sociology. This text is, therefore, not the last word nor the final statement on rural social problems in the United States. It is hoped that as new data are discovered a clearer and more profound treatise may be written. Because of the lack of data on many questions, the authors have refrained from dogmatic statements, and conclusions have been studiously avoided unless warranted by the facts.

This book is intended to serve as an introductory study of rural problems in the United States. It is a general presentation of elementary principles, to be followed by a close analytical study of rural life in advanced courses in the same field. It is believed that the study of such a text as this will provide a desirable foundation upon which to build many detailed studies of particular phases of country life.

We are under special obligations to Miss Alice McFeely for reading most of the chapters, to Mrs. Esther L. Determan and Miss Helen Prescott for patient and untiring work in preparing the manuscript, and to our wives for encouragement and assistance in the preparation of the book.

Acknowledgment must also be made of assistance from C. R. Hoffer and of the encouragement from the succession of students who have been in our classes. It is hoped that other students who may have occasion to use this book will feel free to write us in regard to any of the subjects discussed.

GUSTAV A. LUNDQUIST
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PRINCIPLES OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

CHAPTER I

THE STUDY OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

What is rural sociology? Rural sociology is the study that concerns itself with the social problems of rural people. Social problems are those that grow out of our attempts to live an associated or an organized life, — a life in which each individual has many relations with other individuals, and the well-being of each depends largely upon these relations; in fact, a life in which one's own character is largely the product of one's relations and contacts with other individuals. Rural people are those who live in the open country and small villages rather than in large towns and cities, or, more technically, those whose industry is carried on mainly out of doors in the open fields rather than indoors or in close quarters.

Man's struggle for food. Rural problems are as old as history. Man's earliest experiences have been rural. His close touch with nature made him cognizant of outside forces greater than himself, which he did not understand, but to which he had to adjust himself. He was unacquainted with the philosophy and the technique of the evolutionary processes which molded him into forms which were not of his own choosing. Nature's command was "Adapt or die." As he emerges in the historic morning we discover him confronted with the ever-present food problem. How to get enough to eat is the first and most acute of all problems in adaptation. The slogan "Food will win the war" is only a modernized statement of this problem.

Hunting, the first stage. At first the human race apparently depended upon those kinds of food that were nearest at hand and that required the least technical skill in preparation. Fish, the flesh of animals, and certain fruits, nuts, and roots could be either eaten raw or roasted over a fire; at least they required no elaborate process of preparation. Accordingly fishing, hunting, and gathering edible plant substances constituted the first means of livelihood. How long this period lasted can only be conjectured, but knowing the slow processes by which institutions develop, we have reason to believe that it was many thousands, probably millions, of years.

In this stage there was nothing but rural life; at least, industry was carried on mainly out of doors rather than indoors. All the people were living close to nature. More accurately, they had not improved their natural environment very much. They accepted it as they found it and collected their food from it, doing very little to improve its quantity or quality. The fundamental issues of life centered upon the one real question of survival; survival was mainly a matter of food; and food was mainly a matter of skill in hunting and collecting rather than in growing and improving. During this long and tedious struggle all our moral, social, religious, intellectual, political, and industrial institutions began to shape themselves. By slow and imperceptible gradations they changed from unstable customs into organized ways of doing things. Unsettled life gave way to settled life, instability to stability, and finally we find men settling down to a permanent agricultural life.

Herding, the second stage. Between the unsettled life of primitive hunters, who were ever scurrying about looking for something to eat, and the orderly life of modern farmers, there were many stages. In the case of our own ancestors, at least, there was an intermediary stage between hunting and farming, called the pastoral stage, where the chief means of subsistence was the tending of flocks and herds. The hunter of wild beasts had become the master and owner of more or less tame animals, and upon these he depended for a living. This change from hunting to herding may or may not be regarded as progress,

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according to our definition of progress. It is certain that the free hunter at first despised the herdsman and called him a mere follower of cows, a slave of the cow, and other opprobrious terms. One thing at least could be said for herding; it enabled more people to live and to live better than was possible by hunting alone. In other words, it increased the food supply. In this stage also life was purely rural; that is, industry was carried on in the open country and not indoors.

Tillage, the third stage. It is not to be supposed that our ancestors suddenly stopped hunting and began herding. The change was a very gradual one. In like manner, the change from herding to tillage was slow. In fact, there was a great deal of overlapping of all these rural systems. Even today, in many parts of both the Old World and the New, hunting, herding, and tillage exist side by side in the same community. In some of the best farming neighborhoods in this country, farm boys still hunt and trap fur-bearing animals and game, and go fishing, nutting, and berrying to add a few dollars to their incomes. If there is any rough or broken land in the neighborhood, it is likely to remain in unimproved pasture, even though the better land may be under a high state of tillage. Yet in all settled farm communities, tillage is the chief method of obtaining a livelihood. Hunting and pasturing are only secondary industries, or possibly mere diversions. It is only necessary to imagine much less tillage and much more pasturage in your own farm neighborhood to picture a state that is primarily pastoral and secondarily agricultural. In imagination one may go still further back and picture one's own neighborhood as living mainly by hunting, trapping, and fishing, depending only to a slight degree upon tillage, thus finding itself in a hunting and fishing stage. In fact, our forerunners on this continent, the American Indians, are ordinarily classed as hunters and fishers, yet they actually did considerable farming. The typical Indian village had its cornfields and its bean and pumpkin patches; yet hunting and fishing were the chief resources of its inhabitants, and for this reason they are said to have been in the hunting and fishing stage. Unlike our own European ancestors, however, they never developed

a pastoral stage, unless the keeping of horses by the plains Indians can be called a pastoral industry. They seem to have been either in process of developing directly from hunters and fishers into farmers or, according to some opinions, of degenerating from farmers into hunters and fishers.

There is no means of knowing for how many thousands of years this condition of partial dependence upon tillage had existed among the North American Indians. That they would have developed into agriculturists, at least for many thousands of years to come, is improbable. Not many heavy-yielding crops (that is, crops that yield abundant quantities of food for a small amount of tillage, such as are sometimes found in the tropics) were adaptable to these northern latitudes. The amount of physical work involved in growing these northern crops was so great as to be almost prohibitive in the absence of other sources of power than human muscles. The North American Indians had never domesticated any draft animal. Needless to say, they had not made use of mechanical sources of power. Without some other source of power than human muscles, no extensive system of agriculture has ever developed in the temperate zones.

Overlapping of these stages. There is probably a closer connection between the pastoral stage and the agricultural stage than has commonly been supposed. The pastoral stage implies the domestication of animals, which at least makes possible their utilization as sources of power. After men have learned to utilize draft animals, tillage is possible on a much larger scale. Probably no race of people outside the tropics ever did subsist mainly on the products of tillage who had not first passed through a pastoral stage. Nevertheless, most hunting tribes have carried on hand tillage on a small scale.

In all early stages of development, except in those locations where fishing was the chief means of subsistence, the natural productivity of the soil was the determining factor in shaping the destiny of any social group. Upon this depended the number of wild animals that could live for the support of hunters, and the number of tame animals that herdsmen could keep. Families, tribes, and eventually larger groups sought sub-

sistence wherever they found it in greatest abundance. As a rule, the stronger fighters succeeded in gaining possession of the better lands and forced the weaker groups to be content with the poorer lands. Only as many could exist in any locality as the food resources would permit. In the later stages men gained a certain mastery over the geographical situation and managed to improve the seedbed, irrigate the soil, select the more useful plants, and kill off the less useful, thus increasing the power of the soil to produce food for themselves.

The greatest and most persistent of problems. In these later stages, while soil remains an important factor, it becomes relatively less important than the energy and intelligence of the people themselves, as shown in their methods of cultivation. From this stage forward the greatest problem is not how to find good soil, but how to encourage the use of energy and intelligence in the cultivation of the soil already possessed by the nation. On the solution of this problem hangs the prosperity of the people. The problem is in process of solution when a way is found to secure to the energetic and intelligent cultivator the advantages of his own energy and intelligence. When the intelligent cultivator could be dispossessed by the strong and unscrupulous fighter, there was little encouragement to the intelligent cultivator. When he was compelled by communism to share his produce with his lazy and thriftless neighbors, his case was no better.

Steps in the solution of the great problem. The herdsman early learned the value of ownership of land. This is illustrated in the case of Abraham and Lot, two of the leading herdsmen of their time and place, when they divided the territory and each agreed to keep off the other's cattle range. Each was then able to speak of "mine" and "thine," which is the beginning of the idea of ownership. It needs only a higher power, to protect each one against forcible or fraudulent dispossession, to develop the idea into a reality. At first the idea of property was vague and was conceived as something belonging to a considerable group, such as a tribe or a great family. Very slowly did the idea of individual property emerge. Even today our ideas of property

are only partly individualistic. They are partly familistic and partly communistic. The perception of the advantage of owning land bred land hunger. This, together with the love of adventure, induced migrations and colonization. Land hunger and the love of adventure are not things of the past alone. Every age and nearly every race present the same recurring social phenomena, at least in their advanced stages of development. The twentieth century furnishes examples of its own, no less striking than those of other periods. But as mankind moved tediously up the precipice of achievement, slipping here and gaining a foothold there, the institution of property became more and more clearly defined.

The familistic state. Thus the familistic state approached. Man was gradually learning the value of possession in the simple tools of industry and in a plot of land sufficient to safeguard the subsistence of those for whom he cared. When he had no particular preference for his own flesh and blood, communal or tribal property was satisfactory. When he became especially interested in what we now call the family, it was the welfare of that group that he desired especially to safeguard. The outstanding fact that the man who owns a piece of land and tills it with his own hands is safe, so far as subsistence is concerned, so impressed itself on the economical animal called man that land hunger sooner or later became one of the greatest facts of man's history. Without this safeguard of the exclusive use of a plot of land the man's family may be eaten out of house and home by his thriftless neighbors and the most reckless begetters of offspring. In a communistic group of hunters, even though a few are thrifty and farsighted, they gain little advantage from these virtues if other members of the same tribe are thriftless and destroy the game, or if there are others who multiply too rapidly. The whole food supply is at the mercy of the most thoughtless wasters and the most reckless breeders. Under the institution of family property the family that looks ahead and plans is safeguarded against this danger. Others may be thriftless and reckless, but the careful family is always assured of its means of subsistence. Thus the problem of securing to the

energetic and intelligent the benefits of their own energy and intelligence is in process of being solved.

This, however, is not the solution of all rural problems. It is only the solution of the first and simplest one. There is a classical story of the Hydra, a many-headed monster with whom Hercules fought. The troublesome fact about this monster was that if you cut off one of its heads, two immediately grew in its place. This is a good representation of the so-called rural problem. The rural problem has many heads; yet no sooner do you dispose of one of them than several others take its place. Though rural people have been solving problems from the earliest times, they still have many to solve, and the new ones seem quite as difficult as any of the old ones. This fact has grown steadily more and more evident, and as we are entering upon the second quarter of the twentieth century, it is the opinion of many of our best thinkers that the rural problems here and elsewhere are among the most perplexing and urgent of the many that press upon the modern world.

A new period in agricultural history. This rapid survey of the general development of the rural problem in the past simply furnishes a background against which to view the problems of the present in the United States. Even when this country was first settled, the world in which our ancestors lived was fairly well advanced in the agricultural stage. Private property in land had long existed. Our first colonists were already familiar with the idea and made it a part of our agricultural system. The land policy of our Federal government was to make private property of the public domain as rapidly as possible. This policy culminated in the Homestead Law of 1862. Then some new problems arose. This law, combined with the building of transcontinental railroads, the rapid development of farm machinery, the roller process of manufacturing flour, and the immense immigration of European peasants, resulted in the rapid development of the great West and poured such a flood of agricultural products on the markets of the world that one of the greatest agricultural crises of history developed. Even though our free public lands have been depleted, the opening

up of vast wheat-growing areas in Canada and the general economic debacle of Europe since the World War are producing another crisis. Future historians will probably refer to the coming of millions of European immigrants to this country between the late sixties and the end of the nineteenth century, and the rapid settlement of our Western lands, as one of the great folk migrations of history. They will connect it with the colonization and land policies of the Medes, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, and the later migrations of the Teutonic tribes. The student of rural sociology today is studying a situation that has its roots in the earliest civilizations. The desire to possess land is not a recent phenomenon; it has been a driving force in the greatest historical movements of all ages.

The enlarging of the stream of migration and the rapid development of our great West, together with the fact that the production of foodstuffs increased faster than the world's power to consume, produced consequences that lay far outside the strictly economic field. The earlier immigrants were of a stock closely related in blood, language, and political and social ideals to the colonists who had preceded them, — those who had won the independence of the country and established our institutions according to their own ideals. The newcomers found little difficulty in adjusting themselves to the institutions and the standards of life which they found here. Later immigrants, coming from a different racial stock, with different languages, ideals, and backgrounds, found greater difficulties of adjustment, which have naturally produced irritation and misunderstanding, — sometimes open hostility. Many of our social problems, urban as well as rural, grow out of this situation.

The changing ratio of population to crop area is graphically shown in the following diagram, taken from the Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture for 1923, page 72. The heavy line shows that the per capita acreage in crops increased down to 1900; in other words, the acreage in crops increased faster than the population. Since 1900 the per capita acreage in crops has decreased; in other words, population has increased more rapidly than crop acreage.

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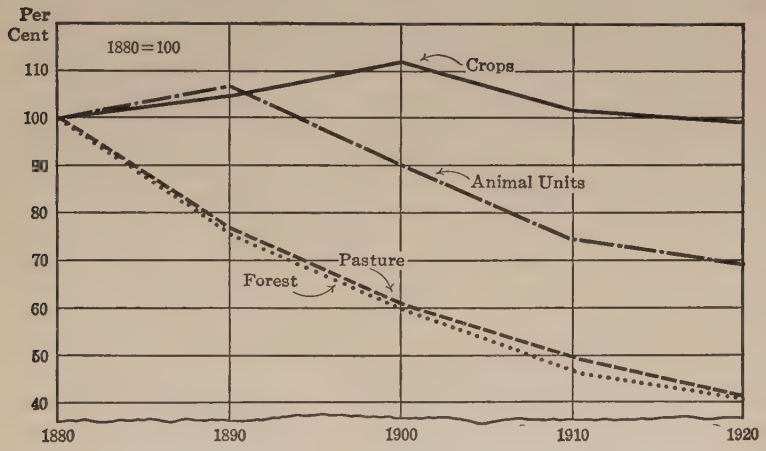
The coming agricultural deficit. The invention of farm machinery, together with the fact that we had an abundance of good land, made it possible for the American farmer to produce more per man than any other tiller of the soil up to that time. The product per acre has not equaled that of some other countries. So long as we had plenty of land the problem of getting more per acre was not acute. In fact, down to 1900 the cultivated farm land increased more rapidly than the total



TREND IN PER CAPITA ACREAGE OF CROPS, PASTURE, AND FOREST, AND AMOUNT OF LIVE STOCK, UNITED STATES, 1880–1920

population, both urban and rural. Since 1900 the ratio has been gradually decreasing; that is, the number of acres of improved land per head of population is less now than it was in 1900 and will probably grow less year by year. This creates a new problem, not only for the student of agricultural economics but for the student of sociology. Instead of an agricultural surplus in the future, such as impoverished the farmers during the last third of the nineteenth century, we are likely to have something approaching an agricultural deficit. The fortunate owners of farm land will not suffer as a consequence of this. The consumers of farm products will have to pay hereafter at least the cost of producing the food which they consume.

The agricultural surplus of the past, and the coming agricultural deficit which is causing some alarm, themselves create problems enough to justify the study of rural sociology.

The first attempt to study rural conditions. About the beginning of the present century several universities began giving attention to the economic and social problems of rural life. In 1909 President Roosevelt saw the need of studying rural conditions. His appointment of the Country Life Commission, and the widely circulated report of that commission, hastened investigations which have been multiplying and proceeding with increased interest ever since. This was a momentous event in the history of the rural problem, not because it discovered anything new in the way of either a problem or a solution, but because it called official attention to problems that were already known to exist, and dignified them by officially naming them as problems worthy of the attention of scholars and statesmen.

The problem of marketing farm products was found to be one of the pressing questions. The attention given to this question has resulted, first, in the activities of various farm organizations, which, together with the farm bloc in Congress, constitute a genuine agrarian movement; secondly, in the establishment, in the United States Department of Agriculture, of the bureau of markets which has since grown to be the bureau of farm economics.

Problems revealed by studies of rural life. Later studies have reëmphasized a number of other problems and forced them upon the attention of the public. Those outstanding at the present moment are: (1) rural education, (2) the rural church, (3) rural recreation, (4) the farmer's lack of ready money, (5) the restlessness that results from the movement from country to city, (6) class struggle.

1. *Rural education.* The disparity in educational opportunities between town and country is a conspicuous fact. This will continue to constitute a serious problem until educational opportunities comparable with those available for the city child are placed within the reach of every rural child.

2. *The rural church.* The declining rural church seems to many thinkers to be another of the outstanding rural problems which can be traced through the impoverishment of the agricultural classes back to the agricultural surplus. Whether the building of better roads and the multiplication of automobiles will make the rural church unnecessary, or whether they will accentuate its importance, is still a mooted question.

3. *Rural recreation.* Rural recreation is recognized as a serious problem which even the advent of the automobile, the motion pictures, and the radio have not solved. In the earlier settlements, hunting, fishing, log-rollings, husking bees, and other similar festivities furnished an agreeable outlet for surplus energy and gave recreational opportunities to the rural people. With the development of a settled agricultural life these opportunities have tended to disappear, and in many cases nothing else had until recently arisen to take their places.

4. *The farmer's lack of ready money.* The farmer's lack of ready money has had such far-reaching results that it is rightfully regarded as one of the outstanding rural problems. The farmer's business turnover is so slow as to deprive him of that steady stream of money which flows into the pockets of urban dwellers, where the business turnover is rapid. Even if in the end the farmer gains and the city dweller loses by this circumstance, it is a source of dissatisfaction to any but the most farsighted rural people. The fact that the average city dweller has money coming to his pocket in weekly or monthly installments, however small, gives him an opportunity to spend money that the farmer lacks and desires. Old age is likely to find the farmer somewhat better provided for than is the average city dweller, but most persons are not farsighted enough to appreciate this fact or to get satisfaction from it.

5. *Restlessness.* It is sometimes assumed that the movement of the young people from country to city is another new problem. This movement, however, is as old as history. Even in the Greek mythology the city, pictured as the Minotaur, was the devourer of youth, levying its annual toll upon the rural districts. The people of Attica were living a rude, primitive,

or semisavage life when the Cretan civilization, centering in its chief city, Minos (whose emblem was the bull), was at its height. The stream of youths from Attica to Minos, none of whom ever returned, probably gave rise to the myth that they were devoured by the Bull of Minos, that is, the Minotaur. So long as the average pair in the country bring to maturity more than two children, the rural community must swarm and the surplus must go either to new rural communities or to the cities. The question of real importance, however, is What kind of people leave the country for the city? Are they the best, the worst, or a representative average?

The movement from country to city is not only a problem in itself; it has produced others in its train. The individual in a new social environment, with no personal reputation at stake and no family traditions to maintain, has fewer safeguards against temptation than the individual in a situation where he and his family have lived for generations. The general instability of our population and the fact that so large a percentage of our people are living in new social and moral environments help at least to explain the general prevalence of lawlessness and crime, the high divorce rate, and the high percentage of juvenile delinquency. There may also be a selective factor at work here, inasmuch as only the more restless elements are likely to move from one community to another. In the long run this may be a good thing if it leaves in each rural community the steady-going, conservative, marrying type to become the inheritors of the soil and the progenitors of future generations. All these conditions furnish powerful reasons for serious study of rural sociology.

Another factor involved in the movement from country to city is the relative simplicity of work in the city compared with farm work. A high degree of specialization in industry has simplified the work of the city dweller in proportion as it has complicated the social organization. The lack of specialization on the farm has had the opposite effect; the daily life of the farmer is complicated in the extreme. In general, it is easier to learn to do a few things than to learn to do a multitude of

things. For this reason country life is simple from the standpoint of its organization, but the work of the individual is much more complicated than that of any city dweller. Those who revolt against the strain of having to learn to do a large number of things are likely to leave the country and seek the simpler and less laborious occupations of the city. This tendency was accentuated rather than retarded by the World War. Despite the most determined efforts on the part of various governments to get the returned soldiers onto the land, most of them preferred to remain in the cities. In spite of the dread of monotony of factory and office work, as expressed by high-strung, nervous people who write books, it appears that there are more who prefer this monotony than who prefer the varied and innumerable tasks of rural work.

6. *Class struggle.* By class struggle is meant any kind of antagonism between classes. The basis of class distinction may be a difference of occupation, of religion, of wealth, of education, or of culture. The form of class struggle most familiar in these days is based on the distinction between employers and employees. This, however, is an urban rather than a rural phenomenon in this country. If our farms were great estates, owned by a few and worked by large numbers of laborers, this form of struggle might arise in the rural districts. But there are few such farms in the country. The typical farm is worked by its operator and his family, with an occasional hired man. The operator is either the owner or a tenant farmer; he is not a wageworker. There is no large class of wageworkers on our farms. Class lines cannot be very sharply drawn under these conditions, and that particular form of class struggle is unknown among our farm people.

The difference between landowner and tenant sometimes develops into a kind of class hostility. This seldom happens, however, except where there is absentee landlordism, — that is, where the owners live a long way from their estates, take no personal pride in their ancestral acres, have no part in the community life, perhaps do not even know their own tenants by name. There is comparatively little absentee ownership in this

country; so even this form of class struggle has never taken on an acute form. Where the landowner lives in the neighborhood, takes a personal interest in the management of his estate, and works on a basis of friendly coöperation with his tenants, or is virtually a kind of silent partner in the farm enterprise, there is little danger of class struggle. Occasionally something resembling class antagonism develops between the large landowners and the small farmers, but these are only sporadic cases.

The purpose of the study of rural problems. It is the purpose of a study of this nature to discover the conditions that determine the type of our rural civilization. In doing so we should bear in mind that the forces now at work are very much the same as those that have always been at work. The evolutionist in the field of biology does not expect anything new in the nature of biological laws or principles. In the field of biology the factors and forces that are now at work developing species are the same as those that have always been at work. The student of sociology must get the same fundamental point of view if he is to make much progress. The stream of history flows on steadily, widening and deepening as each epoch adds its bit of achievement to that accumulation of achievements known as civilization. The institutions of today are linked with those of the past and are the product of factors and forces that have always been at work.

The student of American social life will find his knowledge limited if he confines his attention to that which has taken place on American soil. All our people came originally from older countries and brought not only their language and their political ideals but their moral, religious, and domestic systems with them. Many of them have come, within the present generation, from older countries. Some knowledge of the European background of our people is therefore necessary to an understanding of our own social and economic conditions. In no part of our national life is this more true than in our rural life. Our concepts of property in land and of land tenure had already developed on European soil before they were transferred to this continent.

Rural sociology is the social science which endeavors systematically to study rural life in all its phases. To begin this study we must get the point of view of the rural person. When we once understand the rural point of view, we can begin to formulate programs and present them in ways that will appeal to rural people. Until this is done, all our thinking on rural problems will be as ineffective as our everlasting discussions of the weather or of the freedom of the will.

Four principal tasks of the rural sociologist. The first task of the rural sociologist is to gather information regarding all phases of rural life and work. This information must be gathered in the main by rural-minded persons who are less likely to overlook essential facts than others who have never been a part of the life of a rural community. Some of the facts of rural life are purely mental. It is almost as important to know what rural people think as to know what they do. This information is needed not only for the guidance of rural people themselves but as a guide to rural statesmanship. It will also be useful to the educator and the religious leader, the recreational leader, the health officer, and all others who are working for social betterment.

The second task of the rural sociologist is to organize his information into a body of knowledge that can begin to take on the semblance of wisdom or at least contribute to such wisdom as already exists. This requires something more than the mere assembling of a mass of unrelated facts. It requires that the rural sociologist shall be able to see the way in which one fact is related to another, and each isolated fact to the whole body of knowledge. It is a part of the training of the lawyer to be able to know what facts are relevant and what are irrelevant to the question before him when he is presenting evidence. The rural sociologist needs a similar training in order that he may know how to use his facts after he has gathered them. That is, he must understand what facts are relevant and what are irrelevant to the specific problem on which he is asked for light or wisdom. Nothing but a profound knowledge of the interrelations that exist among facts will answer this purpose.

This suggests the third task of the rural sociologist, which is to interpret his information to the country dweller. Not everyone can be expert in the field of rural sociology any more than in the field of law, medicine, astronomy, or anything else. It is the duty of every expert, in whatever field, to interpret his subject to the inexpert, and he must class among the inexpert in his field those who are experts in other fields. In order to be a sound and skillful interpreter he must know not only his own subject but something of the minds of the people to whom he is to interpret it. In a democracy the only power that can carry out a program of improvement is the power lodged in the people themselves. The only power that can bring about a definite improvement in rural conditions is the power that is lodged in the rural people. The findings of the expert in rural sociology must therefore be interpreted to the rural people if anything is to come of his study.

This suggests the fourth task of the rural sociologist, which is to formulate a program of betterment. While the rural people themselves are the ones who, in the end, must decide upon programs of betterment, nevertheless the expert in the field of rural sociology must present a program to them for their consideration. He must not be content with merely amassing a body of knowledge, analyzing it, classifying it, and interpreting it to the rural people. He must formulate for them a program, even though the decision as to whether they will accept the program and act on it rests with them.

Rural sociology concerned with the whole problem of rural life. It is clear by this time that rural sociology concerns itself with the whole problem of rural life. Rural life is sufficiently distinct from urban life to make the field of rural sociology fairly definite. It involves, of course, a study of the agricultural industry on which the prosperity of rural life rests. The real prosperity of the people, however, is only in part dependent upon the efficiency of its industry. If the desires of the people are depraved, the more efficiently their industries cater to these desires the more rapid and complete will be the degradation of the people. How to get people to want the right things is quite as im-

portant as the question how to get what they want. How to get the people to want the right things is partly a matter of education, partly a matter of political leadership, partly a matter of moral tradition, partly a matter of religion. The rural sociologist must therefore accept contributions from all these fields, and should be able, in turn, to make contributions to each one of them.

QUESTIONS

1. To help make it clear why it is desirable not only to study sociology but to study that branch of it which relates to rural life, state as many concrete problems as you can think of which relate definitely to rural life and are not common to all groups in the United States. Separate these into sociological and economic groups and give concrete examples of the sociological problems.

2. What are the three stages in the development of rural industry? To what extent are they to be distinguished and to what extent do they overlap?

3. How would you characterize the present stage of agricultural development?

4. Distinguish between the communal and familistic states in the development of agriculture.

5. On page 9 the statement is made that the coming agricultural deficit (together with the agricultural surplus of the past) would justify the study of rural sociology. An agricultural deficit would at first seem to be merely an economic problem. Show how it would bring a train of sociological problems.

6. In this chapter we have named six of the leading present-day problems of rural sociology. Perhaps your observation and experience would change this list. If so, state how and why. Be prepared to state what are three of the major problems of the rural section in which you live or with which you are best acquainted.

7. Name as many special lines of development as you can which have helped to increase the food supply or to keep population within such limits as would leave food enough for all.

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CHAPTER II

SCIENCE AND RURAL LIFE

Has there been any real progress? It is doubtful whether there has been any verifiable progress in the last few centuries except in physical science, the mechanic arts, and those other fields where mechanical appliances have been a great help. It is true, for example, that knowledge is more widespread, but this is mainly because of cheap books, and we have these because of a series of mechanical inventions, beginning with movable type and culminating in the modern printing press. If books could be manufactured only by the laborious process of copying by hand, not many persons could afford them. Thus the wide diffusion of knowledge by means of books has come through mechanical invention. Again, there are many amateur astronomers who know more about stars than any ancient astronomer could possibly have found out, but it is because of more powerful telescopes and the spectroscope. We may also be a little more good-natured and kindly disposed, or we may give our money away a little more freely than people did formerly, but we are so much richer because of physical science and mechanical inventions that we can afford to do so. Besides, almost any animal is good-natured when it is well-fed, and we are most of us very well-fed nowadays.

Of course it is very difficult for us to think that there has not been moral progress in recent times. We like our own ways better than the ways of our ancestors, or of our contemporaries where their ways differ from ours. If we did not, we should not have made changes. But the mere fact that we happen to like our own ways better than those of our ancestors is not of itself a proof of progress. We also like our own styles of millinery and speech better than we like theirs; otherwise we should not have changed; and yet change of style is not necessarily progress.

"Change" and "progress" are not identical terms. There have been many times in the history of the human race when, as we now see it, change meant retrogression and degeneration. There is no reason to assume beforehand that the changes we are now making are progressive rather than retrogressive. We must make a careful examination and compare past with present in a most thoroughly scientific manner before we can be certain that we are changing for the better, as the world will look at it a thousand years from now.

The open mind a proof of progress. If there has been any moral improvement in recent centuries, it is probably in some way connected with the verifiable progress that we have made in science and the mechanic arts. To be specific, it is certain that there has been a change from bigotry and preconceived opinions in the general direction of a scientific attitude of mind. The open mind, willingness to learn, and the teachable spirit are moral attitudes, or are different ways of describing the same general moral attitude. Without this teachable spirit, or open-mindedness, it is impossible to imagine that scientific progress or the improvements in the mechanic arts of the last few centuries could have taken place. It is fairly certain, therefore, that we have here at least one phase of moral progress that is verifiable. It is also probable that there has been some improvement in commercial honesty and dependability. Without this the vast expansion of commercial credit of modern times could hardly have taken place. Dependability is of the utmost importance to the development of civilization. Commercial honesty is not the only form of dependability, but it is at least one form, and there seems to have been an improvement here.

As to the scientific attitude, open-mindedness, or the teachable spirit, it is fairly obvious that no scientific progress could be made in the absence of these attitudes. Those who are either too proud to learn or too bigoted to accept scientific evidence, who already know it all and therefore do not want to learn anything new, have never made a single contribution to science or the mechanic arts. It is not through the efforts of such people that man has gained his present mastery over his environment.

If we may be permitted to translate the word "meekness" into "teachableness," "open-mindedness," or "willingness to learn," we may then elevate what has sometimes been regarded as a moral precept to a scientific principle, namely, "Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth." It is fairly safe to predict that the earth will be owned, more and more as time passes, by the people who possess this scientific attitude, who do not think that they know enough already, but are willing to learn, — who do not refuse to accept evidence, but courageously accept facts as they see them and adapt their behavior to the facts.

What is scientific method? Observation, experiment, and inference are the methods of modern science. To observe closely, to see things as they are without sentiment or prejudice, to know a fact when one sees it, to distinguish fact from opinion, to try experiments that may throw light on a difficult problem and to accept the results of these experiments without fear, to draw reasonable inferences from what one observes and demonstrates, — these are the habits of the scientific mind. To follow prejudice and sentiment, to adhere blindly to ancient customs without testing them, to mistake opinion for fact, to persuade oneself that things are as one thinks they ought to be rather than as they really are, are habits of an unscientific mind. To plant potatoes in the dark of the moon rather than when the seedbed is in good condition and the season properly advanced is unscientific. To gather figures from thousands of farms and average the crops that were planted in the dark of the moon and also those that were planted in the light of the moon, and then compare the average results, would be, so far as it went, a scientific procedure. To make tests, to record accurately, to accumulate records of actual tests, to make mathematical averages or exact comparisons, — all are scientific methods.

Modern progress based on science. Most things in which modern civilization excels ancient civilization are based on science or scientific method. There are not many things that the modern world does better than the ancient world, except where science and scientific method have been made use of. Name any field of human endeavor in which the methods of

physical science have not been used, and you will name a field of human endeavor in which the ancient world probably did as good work as the modern world has ever done or ever will do.

Science has made its contributions to rural life in two somewhat distinct fields: first, in the business of farming; secondly, in the art of rural living. Agriculture itself, that is, the growing of crops and animals, has profited from the methods of exact science. Household economy has likewise profited almost, but probably not quite, to the same degree.

Turning first to the field of agriculture, let us see what science, or what is commonly called scientific farming, has accomplished. In order to see this problem in its entirety it will be helpful to study the development of agriculture in our own country. For the sake of brevity and convenience we shall study that subject under three headings.

The First Stage of Agricultural Development: Pioneer Farming

The first stage, which may be called pioneer farming, was the stage of establishment. Farms were being cleared of obstructions, experiments were being made with different crops to find what crops were adapted to the new continent and what were not, the land policy of the country was being formulated, and foundations were being laid for the growth that came in the later stages. This period covered the whole of our history down to about 1800. The system of farming which then prevailed, not only in this country but in the rest of the world, was largely a self-sufficing system. Farmers were farming for subsistence rather than for profit. The products of the farm were consumed on the farm, and in the main only the surplus was sold. The time had not yet come for the reversal of the process or for the policy of growing crops chiefly for market and only incidentally for subsistence. Under subsistence farming the family prospered in proportion as the crops were large or small, and not in proportion as prices were high or low.

Under this system there was a kind of rugged independence on the part of the farm population. There was not much interest

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in markets, commercial policies, or the general economic system of the country or of the world. Opportunities for social life were somewhat meager. Neighbors were not very dependent upon one another except for protection against danger. There were, of course, certain large tasks, such as road-building, log-rolling, and barn-raising, which required the coöperation of neighbors. Beyond these the opportunities for social life were confined mainly to religious meetings for the godly, and drinking and dancing for the ungodly. The churches were somewhat primitive; educational facilities were few.

Family life, however, was compact and family feeling strong; circumstances compelled all members of the family to work together, and this developed a fine feeling of solidarity. Feuds between rival families were not unknown. Religious prejudices were usually rather strong also. The proximity of the frontier, however, tended to prevent the growth of the family into clans, because the frontier beckoned to the coming generation. The tendency was to move westward, to abandon the home neighborhood rather than to settle around the old homestead and there build up a clan. There was a rude equality. The basic necessities of life were likely to be sufficient for all, whereas the opportunities for getting anything beyond the basic necessities of life were not open even to the most prosperous.

The Second Stage of Agricultural Development: Expansion

The second stage, that of geographical expansion, covers practically all of the nineteenth century. In this period the slow movement that had brought the seacoast dwellers out from the original settlements to the region beyond the mountains was accelerated, and the occupation of the great West began at a rapid rate. Ohio, Indiana, Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, Illinois, and Missouri were admitted as states by 1820. The stream of migrants from Eastern states continued to flow steadily, while immigration from Europe began to swell the current. The combined streams continued to spread until the entire continent was inundated. Twenty-five million people

came, more than half entering our ports after 1880. Texas, the central West, and the Northwest were quickly settled, and other states were rapidly admitted to the Union, including the mountain and Pacific states.

The public-land policy of the Federal government promoted this rapid development of the West. The public lands were originally sold for the purpose of liquidating the national debt. Gradually a social policy displaced the earlier financial policy. Lands were disposed of not so much for the purpose of raising money as for the purpose of getting landless men on manless land. The Preëmption Act of 1841 limited the sale of land to actual settlers, and thus prevented large-scale speculation. The Homestead Act of 1862 gave the land without money and without price to actual settlers who would bring the land under cultivation. The Homestead Act especially fired the imagination of the land-hungry population of northwestern Europe. Shortly after the Civil War they began to come by thousands, and later by millions, into the new country and to join the native-born in pioneering on the western fringe of civilization. Here was a golden opportunity for the exploiter. Some came to exploit the soil of the great prairies, where plant food had been accumulating for thousands of years. Others came to exploit the exploiters. The mad rush for soil resembled in many ways the mad rush for the gold-fields of California after '49, the chief difference being that it was less concentrated. It was spread over larger areas and did not attract so much attention.

In those days there were few who had capital enough to equip their newly acquired farms, and there was a universal demand for loanable capital. Moreover, everyone who possessed capital had many opportunities to use it himself and no great reason for wanting to lend it to someone else. As a normal result of this excessive demand and diminutive supply the rate of interest on farm loans rose to 10, 15, and in some cases even 20 per cent. Though the immigrant got his homestead free, he found that the cost of equipping his farm was considerable. If he had to borrow the money, the annual interest charge was so great as to keep him in debt for many years. Many settlers paid

off their debts by mining their soil, that is, by selling the crops for cash and not spending money for fertilizer to replace the plant food extracted by the crop.

Overexpansion of agriculture. Following the building of the transcontinental railroads the westward expansion was still more violent. Formerly most of the settlers had gone in advance of the railroads. Now railroads were built in advance of settlement. Farm machinery also came into general use, enabling each man to cultivate more land, thus accelerating the spread of settlement. During the two decades from 1870 to 1890 there was brought under cultivation more land than is included in the combined areas of Great Britain and France. This overexpansion of agriculture resulted in a glutting of the market. The prices of agricultural products were ruinously low. The settlers who had to live on the proceeds of the sale of their crops were impoverished, and almost universal hardship resulted. Though the land was free, the burden of debt was heavy in many cases, and the prices received for crops were low. Some gave up the struggle and returned to the East; others weathered the storm by various devices. Among other ways of keeping down costs was that of making full use of the entire labor power of the family. Girls as well as boys worked in the fields in order that the combined earnings of the family might be applied to the necessary family expenses. It was a time of testing, as was the earlier colonial period. The testing, however, was of a different sort.

It was also a period of radical movements among farmers. Generally the rural population of the modern world has been the bulwark of conservatism and stability. In western America, however, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, the rural population became radical for the first time. Instead of blaming their hard condition upon the overexpansion of agriculture, they blamed it on the railroads, the banks, Wall Street, grain speculators, and everybody else whom they could possibly accuse.

Under such conditions, what in old countries is commonly called scientific agriculture had no place. However, scientific

minds were at work here, as evidenced by the rapid development of agricultural machinery. The problem of the scientific mind was not how to make an acre of land yield a larger crop, but how to enable each man to cultivate more acres at lower cost. To use commercial fertilizer to increase the crops would have added to the depression by increasing the supply of crops to be sold, and the farmer would have lost money on every dollar's worth of fertilizer purchased.

The outstanding character of agriculture during the period was extensity. Rapid progress was made in the use of power-driven agricultural machinery. These machines were the products of scientific thinking. When it is remembered that the problem of that day was how to cultivate more land with the limited supply of labor, and that these machines furnished the scientific solution of that problem, we can understand that machine farming *was* scientific farming. When the problem changes, the scientific answer must change also. The scientific problem of the farmer is always to grow the maximum crops with the very minimum of expense, — especially expense in the way of money cost. In pioneer days the farmer's own labor and that of his family cost him nothing in the way of money. Fertilizer and deep-tilling machines would have cost money, and the increased yield would have still further depressed prices. The Western farmer was the victim of circumstances for which he was not responsible, and the extensive cultivation of the period was the best system for him under those circumstances.

The Third Stage of Agricultural Development: Scientific Farming

We now come to the third stage of our agricultural development, that of the beginning of scientific farming in a somewhat specialized sense. By the end of the nineteenth century the expansion of agriculture by merely increasing the acreage had practically reached an end. Before 1900 the amount of land under cultivation was growing more rapidly than the population. Since 1900 the reverse has been true. Such agricultural

expansion as we are to experience in the future must come more and more from increasing the yield per acre, and less and less from increasing the number of acres cultivated. This change, of course, will come gradually, almost imperceptibly, but it is already showing itself at the end of the first quarter of the present century.

Agricultural inventions during the preceding period were almost exclusively designed to increase the number of acres a man could cultivate, rather than to increase the yield per acre. The application of science to agriculture from this time forward must be to increase the yield per acre. Science and the mechanical arts solved the problem of extensive cultivation in the period that has just passed, and we can safely predict that it will solve the new problems that are to arise in the period upon which we have now entered.

Conservation of soil. The conservation of soil, or of the plant food in the soil, must occupy a leading place in the scientific program. Of all problems of conservation, that of soil conservation is by far the most important. All the minerals beneath the surface and all the forests above the surface and all the water power of our high lands, when added together, have an aggregate value which is only a fraction of the aggregate value of the plant food within a very few feet of the surface of our farm lands. The animal manure of the country has an economic value in excess of the annual timber cut, or the annual output of all our mines combined. The conservation and utilization of animal manure is second in importance only to the conservation of the original soil. These are problems that call for the best efforts of the best-equipped scientists our universities can turn out.

Soil chemistry is not new. Early in the development of the modern science of chemistry Liebig and others turned their attention to the chemistry of the soil. They have been followed by a brilliant line of investigators who have added vastly to our knowledge. It used to be said that the man who made two blades of grass grow where one grew before was worth more to the world than all the politicians combined. Every first-grade soil chemist belongs in that worthy class.

The World War demonstrated the necessity of large yields in crop production. The Germans not only led the world in the study of soil chemistry; they were in possession of the greatest sources of potassium in the world. Other countries which had formerly depended largely on German chemists and German potash mines were now thrown on their own resources. In December, 1913, muriate of potash sold in this country for $39 per ton. In December, 1915, it was quoted at $500 a ton, but there was not much to be had even at that price.

As to nitrogen, there are, of course, inexhaustible supplies in the air. The difficulty has always been to get it into the soil in a form which plants can use. Certain bacteria that attach themselves to the roots of the legumes are able to do this. It is also known that the nitrogen can be extracted from the air by chemical and mechanical processes, but the cost of extraction has been so great in the past as to make it almost prohibitive, or, in more accurate language, it has cost more to use these mechanical methods than to make use of the power of legumes for the same purpose.

It must be remembered that many things are chemically and mechanically possible that are not economical. It is possible, for example, to produce synthetic milk, butter, and cheese. As to synthetic milk, there is no doubt about our ability to procure a sufficient quantity from chemical laboratories, if cow pasture ever becomes scarce. So long, however, as we have plenty of good cow pasture, the dairy cow can perform this chemical process cheaper than any chemist has yet been able to do in his laboratory. So long as this remains the case, synthetic milk is a chemical possibility but an economical impossibility. In the extraction of atmospheric nitrogen, or in making it available for the purpose of fertilizing land, power seems to be the expensive factor. With a cheap and permanent source of power, such as it is hoped will be developed at Muscle Shoals, we may be able to solve the problem of producing nitrogen economically.

As to phosphorus, we have enough phosphate rock in various sections of the country to supply our needs for thousands of

years. The only question is that of economical utilization. Chemists are working on that problem, however, and express no fear as to our ability to supply ourselves.

Meanwhile the potash situation is clearing up. Since the World War Germany no longer has a complete monopoly of the potash mines. In the second place chemists have discovered a number of other possible sources; at least they are chemically possible, whether they are economically possible or not. The manufacturing of cement supplies a waste product from which a considerable quantity of potash can be obtained. The wool industry furnishes suint, from which other quantities can be obtained. Wood ashes have long been used as a source of potash. Considerable quantities can be obtained from seaweed. Some of the lakes of western Nebraska and of California contain large quantities, which may sometime be economically available.

Next to the enlarged use of chemical fertilizer the greatest opportunity for the application of science to agriculture in the future will probably be found in the field of bacteriology. Soil bacteriology is believed by some to be almost as important as soil chemistry. Study of animal nutrition will also increase the farmer's ability to produce economically animal products of various kinds, such as meat, fats, and milk, or, which means the same thing, reduce his cost of production.

Scientific agencies. Among the agencies for the prosecution of scientific study in the field of agriculture the experiment station probably holds first place. Here the methods of exact science, — that is, the methods of observation and experiment, of testing and recording, — are found in their nearest approach to perfection. In this field the Americans have recently outstripped other countries, though other countries led the way. The great Rothamsted Experiment Station Farm of England is the most famous and one of the very earliest. The greater development of the experiment station is marked in this country as coming since 1888, though there were experiment stations before this time. Now there is at least one in every state, and several in many of the states. At these experiment stations the scientific

problems of agriculture are solved in the field, under approximately the same conditions as the farmer has to face on his own farm. The work of these stations extends not only over the various physical sciences, such as chemistry, physics, bacteriology, plant and animal breeding, and nutrition, but also over the field of economics. The actual cost of growing an animal is demonstrated; by actual test the rate of deterioration of farm machinery of various kinds is determined; and the time required to perform certain operations is tested by the stop watch and other instruments of precision.

The feeding of animals. An animal may be regarded as a living factory for turning grass and other vegetable products into meat, fat, milk, or power. The economical management of such a factory is quite as important as the economical management of a factory consisting of buildings, steam engines, and machines. Studies in animal nutrition and balanced rations are already showing results. It is of great value to have an experiment station demonstrate that the pig is more than twice as efficient a factory for turning vegetable food into animal food as is the beef animal, and that the dairy cow will give even more human food in proportion to what she consumes than will the pig. Until the experiment station demonstrated these facts by actual tests, we had nothing but opinions and prejudices to guide us.

Human nutrition. It is just as important to understand the food value of various crops for purposes of human nutrition as for purposes of feeding animals. It is important to know that corn as a grain crop is the greatest single source of energy, heat, and fat of all the foodstuffs produced in the United States. It has been likened to anthracite coal among the fuels. It is significant that in 1921 over 103,000,000 acres of corn were grown, yielding 3,000,000,000 bushels, worth more than $1,000,000,000. No other cereal grown anywhere in the world yields, on a given space and with a given amount of labor, so much animal and human food.

Each 100 pounds of dry corn contains 70 pounds of starch and 5 pounds of oil. It is our greatest single source of energy,

heat, and fat when fed to animals on the farm. When we become sufficiently free from prejudice, corn may be the greatest single source of energy for human beings in this country. Wheat, compared with corn, contains less fat but slightly more starch and protein. Next to the corn crop it is the greatest source of energy in the form of food that we possess. Oats occupy the third important position among our food crops. Barley and rye, which in other countries occupy important positions, are minor crops with us.

Human beings do not consume food exclusively for the purpose of generating power in the human system, but partly for pleasure. In other words, every human being prefers a kind of food that is pleasant to the taste to one that is not pleasant, even when the latter excels the former in calories and digestibility. Nevertheless, we cannot ignore the value of food as a motor fuel, nor would it be wise to ignore the fact that our bodies are, at least in part, food motors. Of two foods, for example, that are equally pleasant, that one should be chosen which is the more nutritious. Those who have the wisdom to make this choice will be either better nourished or nourished at lower cost. If they are nourished at lower cost, they will have more to spend on other sources of enjoyment or more to invest in instruments of production by means of which they can augment their productive power.

Men do not need the help of science to enable them to determine which foods are more pleasant to the taste; but the scientist, in his laboratory, can determine somewhat more accurately than the ordinary consumer which foods are more nourishing or, in the long run, more wholesome. In other words, the laboratory scientist can help us in the effective and economical stoking of the food motor.

Crop yields. The yield per acre in this country, under the extensive cultivation of the past, is very low. The average yield of wheat per acre is only about one half the yield of European countries. We have no such accurate comparison for corn, because very few European countries grow corn. During the period of extensive cultivating, when land was abundant and

labor scarce, the problem of the farmer was to get the largest possible yield per man, not the largest possible yield per acre. With the growing scarcity of land in the future and the great abundance of labor that comes with a dense population, the problem of the farmer will gradually shift. As in the past he called in the aid of physical science and the mechanic arts to enable him to devise labor-saving machines, so in the future he will call in the same aids to enable him to devise land-saving methods.

Breeding of plants and animals. The whole science of biology, but especially the branch known as genetics, has been brought to bear on the problems which face the breeder of animals. The various theories of heredity as expounded by Darwin, Weismann, De Vries, and Mendel have been studied and tested with the utmost care with a view to improving the breeds of farm animals. Considerable progress has been made. In the autobiography of the late Henry C. Wallace he states that in his youth he lived beside the old National Pike, over which farm animals from the Ohio valley were driven across the mountains to the cities on the Atlantic seaboard. He testifies that since the hogs had to furnish their own transportation, they had to be bred for traveling. They were, therefore, long-legged and rangy, with tails capable of switching flies. He further observes that the coming of the railroad had the effect of shortening the pig's legs, rounding out his body, and putting a kink in his tail. This, of course, happened because breeders of animals began breeding intelligently for other purposes than transportation.

The traveler in southern Europe must be impressed by the magnificent working oxen of those countries. They are tall and powerful, with a good stride, and are fitted to stand intense heat. The reason is that for more than two thousand years the cattle in those countries have been bred for working purposes. In those parts of northern Europe where big horses grow, the ox as a working animal was long ago discarded. Cows are now bred in these countries either for milk or for beef. Much better dairy cows and beef cows are found there than in those countries where the cows are still bred also for the purpose of supplying

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mechanical power. In the process of evolving superior beef and dairy cows, breeders have produced an animal that is inefficient as a hay motor. It is significant that the only large horses the world has ever produced were first developed around the North Sea, in Great Britain, northern France, Belgium, and Holland. Other countries have imported large horses from this region, but no other country originated a really large breed. For a hay motor northern Europe has developed the horse rather than the ox.

In the past the methods of breeders of animals were crude, rule-of-thumb methods. Even such methods will, in the long run, accomplish great results, and by them intelligent farmers, given a few centuries, can build up a superior type of farm animal. Modern scientists, however, can greatly accelerate the process, so that farmers can accomplish in decades what would require centuries under the old method. When, through scientific study, the laws of heredity are better understood, so that we can calculate more accurately the results of a given breeding experiment, our farmers and stock-raisers will be able to furnish animal products at a lower cost to themselves and at lower prices to the rest of the world. It is not improbable that after we have mastered the theory of heredity, and have seen what results can be secured by scientific methods of breeding animals and plants, we shall have the wisdom to apply this knowledge to the improvement of the human species.

Science and plant-breeding. Darwin's theory of natural selection, Weismann's theory of the stability of the germ plasm, De Vries's mutation theory, Johannsen's pure-line theory, Mendel's theory of unit characters, are all observed in the theory of plant-breeding. The scientific farmer who is interested in the maximum yield of crops must of necessity be interested in the scientific principles of heredity as applied to plant-breeding. Seed selection and the preparation of the seedbed also require experimental testing. The kind of tillage necessary to secure the maximum growth of selected seed in a perfected seedbed also calls for experiments, so that tillage may be based upon knowledge rather than upon custom, tradition, or prejudice.

Animal and plant diseases. Animal and plant diseases are at last being studied as scientifically as the diseases of the human body. Probably the most far-reaching experiments in nutrition and heredity are being conducted at the experiment stations of the land-grant colleges. There is an old tradition, supported by feeling and adherence to custom, that diseases are hereditary. Experiments have proved that in most cases this is not true, though the inherited weakness that renders the individual subject to disease may be transmitted.

Plant diseases are being studied with the same expertness as animal diseases. The disinfecting of seed, the spraying of growing plants, become everyday practices among up-to-date farmers. A scientist demonstrated the efficacy of disinfection. By the old rule-of-thumb method so many errors would have been made that it would have taken centuries to determine what kinds of spray to use and under just what circumstances to use them. Resistance to disease has been scientifically demonstrated in wheat, oats, flax, cotton, timothy, tomatoes, watermelons, rice, clover, cabbage, asparagus, beans, cowpeas, and other crops. Nowhere is man's superiority to other creatures, or his ability to control the situation in which he lives, more clearly demonstrated than in his power to use one pest against another. The chinch bug was effectively disposed of by introducing a disease in the bug population. Other pests have been disposed of or greatly reduced in number by similar processes.

One of the chief difficulties in the way of persuading farmers to accept the conclusions of science is the feeling that the observations and experiments that have been made are so remote from their own farms and farm communities as to be inapplicable. Every farmer is likely to think that his own farm is somewhat peculiar, and in a sense he is correct. No two farms are ever exactly alike; neither are any two neighborhoods. It has been found necessary, therefore, to carry on scientific investigations under conditions that are as nearly like those in an individual farm neighborhood as possible.

Humanizing science. The experiment stations, the university-extension workers, and the county agents have helped in a very practical way to humanize science for the agricultural population. By humanizing science we mean making it more effective as a means of improving human life. The scientists in the field of agriculture have frequently worked between the plow handles to demonstrate to the farmers exactly what must be done. Unfortunately, much that the technician has worked out to aid the farmer has been somewhat obscured by the technical language in which it has been stated. This is also true in the industrial world, but it has not prevented the manufacturer from profiting by the work of the scientist. In fact, much of the best scientific work has been done in laboratories which manufacturers themselves have established in their factories. In the case of the farmer, technical language must be discarded if science is to render to the rank and file of farmers the same service that it has already rendered to manufacturers.

Rural America has been literally sown with bulletins on poultry, horticulture, soils, corn, cotton, and multitudinous other subjects pertaining to the farmer's business. In general they are reliable and accurate as well as nontechnical and easily read. The farmer who fails to profit by what has already been done in this field can hardly blame the government for not having done enough.

The economist can make his contribution in many ways: he can recommend the keeping of accurate records, the keeping of cost accounts, and the practice of balanced farming. Observation without records is of no permanent value. The human memory is unreliable. The mind must have accurate records on which to work. Records are the materials of the statistician. Where there are no records, there are no statistics. The keeping of accurate records, therefore, is a part of the scientific method, especially as related to economical problems. Even the experiments carried on in our experiment stations would be of little use unless elaborate records of each experiment were kept over long periods of time.

The problem of size of farm. One of the farm problems with which the scientist is concerned is the most profitable size of farm. There is room for infinite difference of opinion as to whether a large farm or a small farm pays best. It is difficult to settle the question scientifically because of the lack of adequate records. If on a good many thousands of farms of varying sizes accurate records could be kept for a period of years, the economist could determine scientifically on the basis of these records what is the optimum size of farm for a given region or for a given purpose. Fortunately, there are a few records available. These have been tabulated, with interesting results, in the United States Department of Agriculture Yearbook for 1913.

RELATION OF SIZE OF FARM TO FARM INCOME

Number of Farms Studied	Size in Acres	Average Size in Acres	Farm Income
32	0 to 40	37.4	$416
51	40 to 80	72.9	848
48	80 to 120	106.9	998
44	120 to 160	149.4	1468
31	160 to 200	179.1	1956
36	200 to 280	239.8	2738
19	280 to 400	321.8	2838
12	400 to 1250	623.8	6182

Here it is seen that the farm income increases quite regularly with the size of the farm. These results will be true when comparison is made of farms similar in organization, but many small farms are organized so as to provide a large business. The man who can organize the factors of production on a small farm to make reasonable profits shows great ability. In general it may be said that the largest losses and the largest profits occur on the largest farms, but on the average the larger the farm the greater the profit.

Referring to the same survey, the following table gives a comparison of the working capital and labor income on a number of tenant farms on which the tenants furnished practically all the working capital.

RELATION OF WORKING CAPITAL TO LABOR INCOME ON TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-SEVEN TENANT FARMS

Number of Farms	Value of Farms	Average Capital	Labor Income
5	$500	$324	$328
21	500–1000	799	338
44	1000–2000	1271	502
48	1500–2000	1758	655
66	2000–3000	2439	915
41	3000–4000	3415	1095
14	4000–6000	4808	1796
8	Over 6000	8658	2819

It will be observed that the labor income advanced rapidly with the increase of working capital. Some caution is required in drawing conclusions from this table, especially if credit for the labor income is to be given solely to the increase in capital.

Another study was made, showing the relation of labor income to the amount of productive labor.

Number of Farms	Working Days	Labor Income per Year	Labor Income per Day
23	278	$297	$1.00
28	406	574	1.41
13	678	1037	1.53

According to this table, the greater the amount of productive labor a farm furnishes, the larger are the profits in farming. Not only are the gross profits larger, but the labor income per day is also greater. Such a result must be due to the managerial ability of the farmer.

Careful records a part of scientific farming. Farm records are a necessary part of scientific farming. They serve to help the farmer compare the standing of his business from year to year. Cost accounts are necessary if knowledge is desired concerning the status of each enterprise. The farmer should be as desirous as a business man to know the costs and the returns of each part of his business, and what each gains or loses. If a merchant or a banker did not keep an account of every dollar, and did not

know how it was used, he could not stay in business very long. The farmer often has a larger investment than the small merchant, and the need of keeping an account of income and expenditures is as great in one case as in the other. The system need not be elaborate. A simple diary may be the first step, until more minute accounts are kept in a cashbook and itemized in a ledger for each farm enterprise.

An annual inventory will further reveal the farmer's financial status and general business ability. It will show existing conditions of land, buildings, equipment, live stock, supplies, and produce on hand, including money due the farmer and money owed by him. Every successful merchant takes an inventory at least once a year. A farmer who can tell a banker or a merchant the exact status of his farm business has many advantages over the one who is uninformed on the subject.

When a sufficient number of farmers keep such records, the kind of data needed to study the farm business will be at hand. Then agricultural leaders can go before the proper authorities and show measurable facts, and can base their demand for relief upon these facts rather than upon general opinion. When a large number of farmers are able to show labor records, feed accounts, crop yields, seed costs, amount of fertilizer used, the farm economist will have a fund of information to work upon that is now difficult to find.

Household records are no less valuable. There are very few people who know just what it costs to live. Such information is extremely valuable. Nothing in the way of statistics is more likely to astonish the average family than a summary of household costs. The farmer is not likely to think of the cost of pork, eggs, cream, milk, butter, fowls, fuel, fruit, vegetables, and house rent, until he compares his living with that of the average city man of corresponding investment and income. It is by comparison with other people that he can best realize how he stands, and by keeping accurate records such a comparison is possible.

Science and labor-saving. The most important contribution that science has made to agriculture is the saving of labor.

Millet's picture, "The Man with the Hoe," shows a man whose muscular labor has absorbed his vitality, brutalized his face, and all but killed the spark of intelligence in his eyes. To relieve the farmer of the necessity of such soul-killing work was to lift the life of rural people to a new level. Let us grant that competition compels a modern farmer to work as hard as his grandfather did; the fact remains that his work is made up of a large amount of mental tasks and a small amount of muscular work. The farmers who live up to this new standard are working on a distinctly higher plane than those who had to become food motors, mere engines for transforming food into mechanical power.

The anticipated increase of income from scientific agriculture is not always realized. The superior method of one farmer is easily copied by thousands of others. When they all copy his superior method, production is increased and this tends to reduce the price of the product. Thus the innovator's cost of production is in part balanced by a fall in price. The benefit is diffused throughout the entire country or the entire world. But as a citizen of the country or of the world the farmer who made the innovation shares in the general improvement along with others. He also shares in the benefits resulting from thousands of other improvements made by other people. It is in the general advance in civilization, and his opportunity to share in it, that the farmer must find his chief reward. If he is socially minded, this advantage will be appreciated.

All that is said about the importance of substituting other motive power for human muscles in general farm work can be repeated with equal emphasis regarding the indoor work of farm women. There is no reason why the farm woman's muscles should do any work that other motors can do. Such laborious operations as washing, sweeping, scrubbing, carrying water, and a multitude of others can be done equally well by power-driven machinery.

Sociological problems. Like problems in physical science, sociological problems call for scientific analysis. Most agricultural inventions have been designed to save labor, but the problem of economizing labor is not solved by labor-saving

machines alone. Some labor goes to waste because of unsound ideals or lack of moral principles which result in misdirected energy. What is the difference between sound and unsound moral standards is a problem requiring scientific analysis. A sound standard is one which economizes human energy; an unsound standard is one which wastes it. One source of wasted or misdirected energy is found in the idea that brainwork is more honorable than handwork, — an idea which rests on certain ancient prejudices. It has been said that an American will take three dollars a day as floor-walker in a department store, although it does not call for much more brainwork than digging a ditch, rather than dig a ditch with a foreigner at four dollars a day. It is also said that an American girl will work behind the counter in a department store for twelve or fourteen dollars a week rather than as domestic servant at from eight to fifteen dollars a week, with a comfortable room and good board in addition. Prejudices of this kind undoubtedly result in a good deal of wasted effort.

It will be found, however, that there are social reasons for these prejudices. The American who is a floor-walker at least associates with others who have interests and ideals in common with himself, and with whom it is, therefore, easy to develop a genuine companionship. If foreigners did not work in the ditches, or if there were no foreigners to be had to dig ditches, there would not be the slightest difficulty in getting Americans to do that work if they were well paid. It has been frequently said that in the South white girls will not do housework; but accurate observations show that wherever household positions are not filled by negroes, white girls are willing to do housework. In our Eastern cities, where housework is not generally done by foreigners, native American girls will do it. They are willing to do any kind of honest work if they receive a good wage and, what is more important, can associate with their own kind.

In many parts of the West where the population is homogeneous girls do housework without any idea that there is any social difference between mistress and maid, just as boys hire

out to do farm work without feeling that they are socially inferior to their employers. This is a democratic idea that has had a higher development in this country than in any other. Here it pervades our whole social, political, economic, and even military life.

Race preferences. The chief factor in obscuring or nullifying this general democratic ideal in this country is difference of race. Outside of the field of marriage this fact influences conduct as much in the choice of occupation as anywhere else. Every person is likely to prefer to associate with others who not only speak his language but are interested in the same things, and whose personal habits are the same or at least as agreeable. It is not unnatural, therefore, that those who have grown up in the same national environment should prefer to associate with one another rather than with aliens. If one has to spend eight hours of every day in company with people who either speak a different language or, speaking in the same language, insist on talking about things in which the person in question has no interest whatsoever, and whose personal habits are widely different from his own, he will certainly get much less satisfaction than he would where he could enjoy genuine companionship. Viewed in this light, it would be difficult for anyone to object to a certain amount of preference for one's own kind, even if this preference is called race prejudice.

There are other cases not so easily justified. The housemaid, for example, need not associate during her working hours with other housemaids unless she is in a family where a number of servants are kept. Yet even here the elements of a caste system are likely to show themselves. Store workers may assume an air of superiority and refuse to associate, out of working hours, with domestic servants. Upon analysis, however, this is usually found to be connected with something else than the occupation itself. Where most store workers are of native stock and most housemaids and domestic servants are foreign-born, even the native-born girl who does housework is classified with the others and is forced to share their social life. In extreme cases, where housemaids or domestic servants are colored, white girls who

do the same kind of work may be excluded from the society of other white girls. The tendency to classify people is not confined to ancient aristocracies; it seems to be a human characteristic displayed by all classes.

Misdirected man power. It is demonstrable that the maximum total wealth is produced when the greatest number of individuals succeed in finding the kind of work for which they are best fitted. If a person is diverted, by race prejudice, from the work best suited to him into something for which he is not so well fitted, his contribution to the general prosperity is less than it might be. Prejudice that prevents an individual from finding his economic level, or from going into the occupation in which his contribution to the national wealth would be greatest and his own prosperity would also be greatest, is a distinct hindrance to economic and social development. This fact has been largely responsible for the retardation of economic and social development in the Southern states. For this condition there is a choice of only two remedies, — either eliminate differences of race or eliminate race prejudice. It is possible, however, that the part of wisdom is to elect economic and social retardation rather than to attempt either of the remedies. At any rate, the issues involved are fairly definite and simple.

Economics and social science cannot decide questions of this kind for the people themselves. Science can only present clearly the problems and the possibilities. It is for the people themselves to choose. Even the soil chemist cannot decide for farmers whether to use chemical fertilizer or not. All he can do is to present to the farmers the facts about the fertilizer, — what it will do for crops or what it will cost to use it, and how to use it effectively. If the farmers are too prejudiced to make use of the information, it will do them no good. The same is true of the economist and the sociologist. They can point out how man power can be most effectively distributed among occupations. They can point out the factors that now prevent that economical distribution. It is for the people themselves to decide whether they are willing to pay the price.

Waste through prejudice. Race prejudice, however, is only one of the many causes of wasted or misdirected human energy. The most destructive of all prejudices, perhaps, is prejudice against scientific method and the findings of exact science. In some persons this prejudice is so strong that they even refuse to accept a thing that has been demonstrated before their eyes. Their attitude of mind is exactly like that of the man who, upon first beholding a giraffe, declared emphatically that there was "no sech animile."

Calculability and economy. The superiority of a sound and dependable monetary system has been demonstrated so often that there is really no longer any excuse for questioning it. The superiority of a dependable government whose officials act according to laws that are capable of being known by everybody, and that can be depended upon year after year and generation after generation, is equally demonstrable. A tax system that will enable one to calculate in advance what he will have to pay, and not keep him guessing, is superior to one that is changed frequently. In short, the more nearly legislation and the administration of human laws come to resemble a law of nature in their definiteness and calculability, the better it is for everybody. Not many people care to discuss whether gravitation is just or unjust. It does not make much difference whether it is or not, so long as men understand how it works and behave accordingly. Gravitation is sometimes a factor in doing a man injury; yet he cannot complain of gravitation. His complaint must be lodged against the person who ignored the law of gravitation and thereby caused the injury.

This principle of calculability applies to individual conduct as well as to the conduct of government officials. There is a certain school of anarchism that refuses to distinguish between murder by a private individual and legal execution of criminals by the government, or to distinguish between the use of force by a private individual and the use of force by a government. Such a view is completely unscientific. Under a stable government everybody knows at least how he can avoid being executed by the government and what kind of behavior on his part will re-

sult in his own execution. So long as he knows that, it is not difficult for him to avoid being executed by the government; the government's behavior in this respect is calculable and predictable. This is not true of the behavior of criminals. Where murderers are permitted to stalk at large, no one knows how to avoid being killed or how to avoid any other kind of violence. The behavior of private criminals is incalculable; that of a government is calculable. Every honest individual, therefore, is much safer when the government uses force regularly, consistently, and calculably against all perpetrators of violence than he would be if the government did nothing of the kind or if those sentimentalists who object to the use of force by government should have their way.

Calculable self-interest. From the standpoint of calculability there is something to be said even for the intelligent pursuit of self-interest by the average individual as against the attempt to substitute generous impulses. Self-interest, of course, may be perverted, but it may also lead one to do useful work in order to get the reward for that work. Intelligent self-interest is a little more calculable than generous impulses. Where everyone knows that his neighbors and fellow citizens want money, but are willing to give honest return for the money they get, he can adjust himself to the situation more satisfactorily than would be possible if they were all impulsively generous. Impulses are notoriously hard to calculate or predict, and the behavior of impulsively generous people will leave one guessing more frequently than would the intelligent self-interest of those who are willing to give a fair return for what they get.

The uncertain element in the latter case is what constitutes a fair return. If a fair return is defined as the market price, that is something that can at least be determined. If it is defined in some other way, it is much more difficult to determine. Except in extreme cases, there is probably greater calculability when self-interest expresses itself in an open market price than when it tries to express itself in some other way. In extreme cases this may result in extortion on one side or the other, and then a corrective is needed.

The whole of civilization, as well as all that is good in morals, religion, and culture, can be reduced in the last analysis to the economy of human energy. The one final contribution that science can make to rural life is to save valuable human energy from being wasted on things that animals and engines can do just as well, in order that this precious resource may be devoted to things that animals and engines can never do. This conclusion is important enough to the sociologist to justify this rather long chapter on Science and Rural Life.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the question Have we made any progress in the last two thousand years outside the fields of physical science and the mechanical arts? Explain what you mean by progress and show definitely in what respects, if any, progress has been made.

2. How would you distinguish between a scientific and an unscientific method of determining (1) how deep to plow, (2) how many times to cultivate a growing crop, (3) what system of crop rotation to follow, (4) the quantity and quality of fertilizer to use, (5) what kinds of roads to build, (6) whether to have numerous one-room schoolhouses or one consolidated school with many rooms, (7) what kinds and varieties of food to provide for an animal, (8) how to plan a house in order to economize human energy in the doing of the housework?

3. Can you think of any other stages besides those mentioned in this chapter in the development of the social life of rural people?

4. How does the conservation of soil fertility compare in importance with the conservation of other natural resources?

5. Can science help, and if so, how, in the development of superior breeds of human beings?

6. It is sometimes stated that an experiment carried on at an experiment station is of comparatively little use to the individual farmer because his farm is different from the plot on which the experiment was tried. To what extent is this statement justified, and if there is any truth in it, how can the difficulty be remedied?

7. What part does the keeping of accurate records play in scientific farming?

8. Is there any scientific solution of a race problem where it exists? If so, what is it?

9. It is sometimes stated that the same moral law that forbids murder forbids also the infliction of capital punishment. What do you think of this?

10. What other contributions has science made to rural life besides those mentioned in this chapter?

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CHAPTER III

UNDER ALL—THE LAND

The earth and its relation to man. Since the active form of human adaptation consists in modifying the physical environment to suit the needs of human beings, it is of first importance that we should study the characteristics of the two things that are to be fitted together, namely, the physical environment and the human population. In this chapter we shall study the physical environment of an agricultural society; in the next chapter we shall study the rural population to which the physical environment has to be adapted.

Men early learned that the sun had a great deal to do with their lives, through its influence upon their food supply as well as upon their physical comfort. Ever since they recognized this influence they have been trying to understand the apparent movements of the sun and the planets and the ways in which they exert their influence. This study is still going on. It ranges all the way from astrology to the study of the rings of tree growth to determine weather cycles. It is even conceived by some of the leading statisticians of the present day that the sun-spot cycles may be in some way connected with those variations in our prosperity known as business cycles. There are still farmers who plant their crops in certain phases of the moon.

Those who do not believe that their individual lives are influenced by these outside factors cannot easily understand how such beliefs ever arose. When, however, they realize how dependent primitive men were upon the bounties of nature, the matter becomes less mysterious. Our remote ancestors prospered or starved according as nature was bountiful or niggardly. It is only in the later stages of development that man begins to gain a little in his mastery over nature, and a

corresponding decrease in nature's power over man takes place. When we realize further that life is a form of energy, and that our great source of energy is the sun, we are impressed with the fact that as yet our mastery over nature is very incomplete. A small portion of the immense stream of energy that radiates from the sun strikes the surface of the small dot called the earth. Of this a very small fraction is transformed into plant life, still less into animal life, and an almost infinitesimal quantity into human life. Nevertheless, this small quantity is very important to us. It is our life.[1]

Our physical environment exercises a selective influence by favoring those individuals who manage to adapt themselves to it and laying severe hardships upon those who do not. To the old question Is nature kind? we can give only a partial answer. Nature is kind to those who know her ways and conform to them. She is merciless to those who, through ignorance or perversity, refuse to conform. Intelligence and character can be properly defined only as the knowledge of her ways and the willingness to conform to them. She is selecting for survival those that possess intelligence and character as thus defined, and for extinction those that lack these qualities. By this selective process there is being evolved a creature possessing intelligence and character in high degree.

Aside from the selective influence of nature, the total quantity of human life is also determined by natural conditions. Only as many people can live in any part of the world as can find subsistence there or can manage to get it from other places. The density of population is ultimately conditioned by the fertility of the soil. The early centers of dense populations and of civilization were the rich river valleys. There food could be produced in greatest abundance.

Climate an important factor. In the second place, climate exercises an influence in the orderly development of civilization. For long ages temperature practically determined the boundaries of civilized life. Somewhat recently, however, these

[1] See Thomas N. Carver's "The Economy of Human Energy" (The Macmillan Company, 1924) for a fuller discussion of this subject.

boundaries have been extended into colder regions because of cheap fuel, an abundance of building material, and such inventions as glass, which enables us to shut out the cold and admit the light. Without coal and glass not many of us would care to spend the winter in any part of northern Europe or the northern half of North America. These are two of the many factors which have enabled us to free ourselves, within very narrow limits, from the domination of nature; or, in a modified sense, to gain a mastery over nature.

Early and late frosts set a limit to vegetation except for products in proportionally small quantities that are grown under glass. The heat rays of the summer sun even in far northern regions, however, permit the growing of plants that can mature between frosts. The fact that during the growing months the days lengthen as you go north helps to compensate for the fact that the sun's rays are less perpendicular. For this reason certain crops can be raised successfully in the Far North. Mr. Stefansson tells us that we have failed to realize the possibilities of growing crops within the Arctic circle, where for a short time each year the sun shines twenty-four hours every day. Of course the number and variety of crops are not so great where the growing season is necessarily short as where it is longer. Even in those sections where the growing season is one hundred days, as it is in our northern tier of states from Maine to North Dakota, the products are more restricted than in those sections where the growing season is one hundred and fifty days, as it is in the great middle portion of the country, or two hundred days, as it is in the southern tier of states. However, the long, cold winters that restrict the growing of crops also restrict the growth of the enemies of our crops, so that our northern states have some compensations for their shorter growing season.

Calculability an important factor. Rain and snow are elements that must be accepted as they come, and the regularity with which they come is an important factor in our agricultural life. In fact, calculability is of the utmost value to the creature that has a calculating mind. The regularly recurring seasons of heat and cold are not a serious deterrent to good agriculture so long

as the farmer can have reasonable confidence that during a certain period (longer or shorter, as the case may be) he can count on an absence of frost. Even the presence of pests of various kinds will not deter him if he knows of certain methods that can be counted upon to exterminate the pests.

It is only where he is dealing with factors that cannot be calculated even roughly that the calculating creature is completely disconcerted and discouraged. Farmers under the Turkish government of the old régime might calculate ever so accurately regarding frosts, rains, and methods of fighting insect pests; but so long as a tyrannical government was likely to swoop down upon them at any time and take all their produce as taxes, they could never reckon profits. That kind of uncertainty did more to discourage agriculture than the severest climate could possibly do. It used to be said, "Where the Turk's horse treads, no grass grows."

The fact that forty inches of rainfall per year in the Ohio valley and the greater part of the Mississippi Valley could be counted upon with some degree of regularity was an important factor in the development of agriculture in those regions. Even where the rainfall is no more than eighteen inches there may be a prosperous agriculture if that amount can be counted upon; but if it comes in occasional irregular torrents, with long periods between, agriculture is practically impossible.

Wind currents an important factor. Wind currents are important not only as affecting rainfall but also in the distribution of dust, which is one of the factors in the building up of soils. In the region round Mt. Vesuvius the dust carried by the winds from that volcano is an important source of soil fertility. In the semiarid states of our own West, wind-borne dust is also an important factor, not only in the distribution of soils but in the character of the landscape. However, it is the effect of the wind on rainfall and snowfall, rather than on dust, that is of special interest to the rural sociologist. It has been noticed that in the states west of the Mississippi the southeast wind brings the rains, and that the snow falls in greatest regularity with a prevailing northeast wind.

Wheat, both winter and spring, depends upon the rain and snow. When the winters are too open, that is, when there is not enough snow on the ground, not only is there a deficiency of moisture, but the wheat is left unprotected from the winds and the soil is sometimes blown away from the roots. Experience has shown that when rains fall regularly in April, May, and June, the spring-wheat crop is practically assured, barring hailstorms, even though a dry spell follows later. Corn requires more rain in the late summer, but usually if there is plenty of rain during June and July a corn crop is assured. The same may be said of cotton and root crops.

Altitude an important factor. Altitude largely determines the habitation of man. Geographers tell us that the average height of the land above sea level is approximately 2500 feet. More than two thirds of the population of the United States live below the altitude of 1000 feet;[1] one sixth live less than 100 feet above sea level; and the greater part of the population is found on elevations of between 100 and 1000 feet. High altitudes are commonly unfit to support large numbers, because of the low temperature, the rarity of the atmosphere, the poor quality of the soil, and inaccessibility. The spread of the mining industry leads to the occupation of higher elevations. As a result of this, more people are now living above 5000 feet than in previous years, though less than one tenth of our population live above this altitude.

Geographical isolation an important factor. Aside from questions of climate, temperature, rainfall, and altitude, there are many other factors in the geographical location that affect human society. People who inhabit small areas, isolated from the rest of the world, live under difficulties. Opportunities for the division of labor are limited. The stimulus to thought and invention which comes from communication among large numbers of people is denied to isolated peoples. The probability is so great as to amount to a certainty that millions of people will have more ideas than thousands of people. Where there is com-

[1] Carroll D. Wright, Outline of Practical Sociology, p. 29. Longmans, Green & Co., 1900.

munication among the millions, the thought of one becomes the thought of all. The invention of one becomes a resource to all.

It is well to remember, however, that the isolation which handicaps people is mental rather than physical. A nation may be shut off by physical boundaries from military invasion by other people and yet possess ample opportunities for intellectual communication with the rest of the world. The English Channel has served Great Britain as a protective barrier, permitting her to develop without fear of military invasion. It has not, however, isolated the English people or prevented them from communicating with the most distant parts of the world. Similarly, the mountains of Switzerland have given the Swiss people a certain feeling of security but have not isolated them intellectually. In this respect the United States is in a most fortunate position. Before the days of ocean transportation it used to be said that the sea divided the peoples. Now, with our steamships, airplanes, submarine cables, and radio messages, the ocean furnishes no serious barrier to intellectual communication or peaceful commerce. It does, however, furnish a serious barrier to hostile invasion. This is what gives us a feeling of great security and enables us to develop our industries and our institutions without much regard for the needs of military defense.

It may be said, however, that our one serious menace is the lack of natural boundaries on the north and south. It is not the danger of military invasion that concerns us; it is the difficulty of maintaining our standard of living against peaceful invasion by immigrants with a lower standard. Immigrants from Europe and Asia cannot land on our seacoasts without our consent, but they can surreptitiously step across the imaginary lines that separate us from Mexico and Canada. Therefore our attempts to exclude European, Asiatic, or African immigrants are likely to be more or less futile. Unless we handle this problem effectively, there is nothing to prevent the United States from eventually becoming an Asiatic or an African colony, as it formerly became a European colony.

Another danger from isolation is of a moral rather than an intellectual kind. People who know nothing about the rest of the world are likely to imagine themselves a superior race of people and to develop a kind of narrow egotism. The local patriotism of the city states of Greece is a conspicuous example of this tendency. The Greeks built great civilizations, but failed to appreciate other people, to whom they gave the name "barbarians." This egotism even led to destructive quarrels among themselves, which after a time wasted their energies until "the land of scholars and the nurse of arms" became but a memory. Sectionalism in our country, as evidenced in the New England states, in the Pacific coast states, and at one time in the Southern states, is likely to fall into the same attitude of narrow egotism.

Area an important factor. Extensive area is an advantage so long as there is unity of thought and sentiment among the inhabitants. When a nation occupies too large an area, sectionalism develops and tends to break it up into smaller social and political units. Up to the point where sectionalism begins to be a danger, extensive area tends to give permanency and to promote prosperity, especially in an age when transportation and communication are highly developed. A nation with an extensive area will have a wider command of all the resources of life; it will be less dependent upon outside sources and less likely to be damaged by unfriendly discriminations of other nations. Our vast area created a large region within which there was complete freedom of trade. One of the purposes of the government under our present Constitution was to prevent the different states from placing obstacles in the way of trade and communication with one another. The formation of the Federal Union thus created a large free-trade area. The same thing happened in Germany when the various German states were unified under the empire. Even in the matter of a possible military invasion, space is a great protection, as Napoleon found to his sorrow when his great army that had been victorious over other armies was practically annihilated by the vast spaces of Russia.

Aside from all questions of diversity of industry, self-dependence, and military safety, a large area supporting vast numbers of people under a common government and with common ideals makes a deeper impression on the rest of the world, and influences its thought more profoundly, than a small area would be likely to do unless it had exceptional advantages.

Area not always a factor. There are other factors than size which give a nation or a city a position of power and influence in the world. Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Athens, Constantinople, Gibraltar, the Strait of Dover, Panama, and a few other places are illustrations of this. People with different religious views may differ in their opinion as to many things about Bethlehem, but every letterhead in Christendom commemorates an event that happened there. Jerusalem was never a large city in itself, but its influence on the modern world is not to be measured by the number of people who lived there. If measured by population alone, Athens, even in her glory, would now be considered an insignificant city. The influence of these cities was due neither to their size nor to their geographical location, but to the kind of people that happened to be born there.

Many cities derive their importance largely from their strategic location. Constantinople, at the gateway between Europe and Asia, has always held the key to the commerce between those two great areas, from the time of the Persian Wars to the present. Later the capture of this point by the Turks forced a series of events which led to the discovery of America and the beginning of a new period in history. The control of the gateway between the Baltic and the Atlantic gives Copenhagen its significance. The Strait of Dover is another conspicuous example of the importance of location. It is too early to predict, but it seems likely that Panama will some day have a significance comparable with that of Constantinople. The nations of Europe have long recognized the strategic advantage of Gibraltar and Suez, — an importance entirely out of proportion to the meager populations that inhabit these places.

Physical factors which determine the location of cities. No great city can thrive except where opportunities for collecting

food from wide areas exist. The rivers furnished the first opportunities. The alluvial soil along the river valleys permitted food to be grown, and the rivers furnished a means of transportation. Later, after men had learned to navigate the open sea, good harbors furnished an opportunity to bring food from the ends of the earth. In modern times the largest cities are usually built where there is a necessary break in transportation, that is, where goods have to be changed from rail to water transportation. The cities of the Atlantic coast, along the Great Lakes, on the Mississippi and its tributaries, and on the principal harbors of the Pacific coast well illustrate this point. Not only is the city dependent upon cheap transportation for its food supplies, but the farmer is equally dependent upon it for his market. Before the coming of the railroad, agricultural development was confined to narrow strips bordering on waterways or seacoasts. The great interior regions were still inhabited by nomads who managed to live a self-sufficing existence, mainly by the herding of animals. Being independent of markets, they could subsist, but populations in such areas were sparse and the standard of living was low.

Physical factors which provide man with power. All industry consists in moving pieces of matter from one place to another. In the cultivation of the soil the farmer is merely moving dirt by means of the moldboard of the plow or the teeth of the harrow. To move pieces of matter requires power. So long as men have no source of power except their own muscles, they have comparatively little command over nature. It is mainly through his ability to make use of power from other sources than his own muscles that man has been able to gain dominion over the rest of the animal creation. Of course it was his superior intelligence that enabled him to harness these other sources of power. The sailor early made use of the pushing power of the wind, but for many centuries agricultural workers made little use of any power except that of animals. In the higher stages of civilization there are four immediate sources of power: coal, petroleum, running water, and wind. These are all indirect ways of utilizing the energy which originally came

from the sun. Numerous experiments have been made with solar engines in order to make direct use of this energy. Of the indirect sources, doubtless coal is the most important. It makes possible the great transportation systems; it furnishes power for the great manufacturing plants; it is the fuel that makes most of our homes livable during the cold winters. Petroleum has made the automobile and the airplane possible. Doubtless other fuels will be found for internal-combustion engines when gasoline is no longer available; but if we had had to wait for these other fuels it is doubtful if we should have had either the automobile or the airplane for many years to come.

The running water of streams and tides has for thousands of years furnished power for various purposes. Such power, however, was limited to narrow geographical locations. Coal and petroleum, being transportable, were available over wider areas. Modern electrical development now permits us to distribute the power itself over equally wide areas. We have been rather slow in this country to utilize these vast sources of power, partly because our people have been afraid that somebody might make money out of them, and partly because this fear was justified by the rapacity of a certain type of exploiter. However, when additional power is needed, as evidenced by our willingness to pay a remunerative price for it, it will doubtless be developed.

One of the cheapest sources of power for the farmer is the wind. In the open country it is one resource that exists in practically unlimited quantities. It is only a matter of erecting a windmill to make use of it. Cheaper devices for storing the power that goes to waste when the wind is blowing, to be utilized when the wind does not blow, are very much needed and will greatly increase the utilization of this source of power. One of the great needs of the country is better lighting as well as more power, and the wind will become more and more a source of both power and light.

How minerals are important to society. Among the physical resources of any country numerous minerals must be listed. The precious metals are important, but their usefulness is mainly monetary and ornamental. The social significance of gold is

most felt in the field of international exchange, where it furnishes the standard of values for commerce among the principal nations. Any nation that gives up the gold standard for its currency either cuts itself off entirely or greatly handicaps itself in international exchange. Farmers who are dependent upon foreign markets should be particularly interested in stabilizing prices. The inflation that sometimes results from a departure from the gold standard invariably brings grief in its train, especially to those who go into debt when prices are inflated and have to pay up when prices have fallen.

Coal is by far the most important of all minerals (it is commonly classed as mineral though apparently of vegetable origin). It would probably be impossible for so many people to live in northern latitudes if we did not have this cheap fuel. The wood supply would long ago have been exhausted unless we had devoted a great deal of our land to forestry for the purpose of growing fuel. This would have meant that our northern regions would have supported a somewhat sparse population. Aside from its use in keeping our houses warm, the chief use of coal is that of supplying energy, or power. The great industries of the present day are really based on the cheap power furnished by our coal beds.

If we take the whole world into account, we shall probably find that the chief source of power is still the muscles of animals. This was true in this country down to about 1900. Since that time steam power has increased so rapidly as to exceed in volume all the animal power on our farms and on our city streets. This is true also of the chief industrial nations. Next to the yoking of the ox at some time in the prehistoric past the most momentous event in the history of man's use of power was the invention of the steam engine. The reason why this was so momentous was that the coal beds of the north temperate zone furnish a vast quantity of very cheap and very concentrated fuel. It has made possible not only our great factories filled with power-driven machinery but also our modern transportation systems. In the form of coke it is the chief fuel for smelting. This has given us our iron and steel industries.

Next to coal, iron is the most important of all minerals, because it exists in greatest abundance in proportion to our needs. There are such rich and extensive ore beds in the Lake Superior region that the old system of underground mining is entirely discarded, and what is called open-pit mining has taken its place. Under this system, mining is merely a matter of loading freight cars with ore by means of huge steam shovels. In 1910, a normal year, the United States produced more than 51,000,000 tons out of a total world's production of 125,000,000. Our nearest competitors were Germany with 25,000,000, England with 14,000,000, and France with 11,000,000.

Steel, whose principal ingredient is iron, has played so large a part in modern industry as to justify certain philosophers in calling this the age of steel. The development of the electrical industries in recent years places copper in the class of most important minerals, ranking next to coal and iron. The United States is peculiarly fortunate in its supplies of this important metal. In 1911 we produced 548,000 out of a total world's production of 979,000 tons. The principal use of copper is in the manufacture of copper wire for the various electrical industries, including radio. We are well supplied with every other important mineral except tin. We have considerable supplies of this, but none has yet been discovered that is so easily and cheaply worked as those of other countries, particularly the Straits Settlements of eastern Asia.

Soil the most important factor. Of all the physical factors that influence the life of man, the most important is soil. The stores of plant food contained in the soil are, in a special economic sense, the source of the life of the people. In a general non-economic sense, many other factors are quite as important. In a physical sense, sunlight and heat are the source of our life. In an economic sense, however, sunlight and heat are not limiting factors. There is plenty and to spare. In a physiological sense, water is essential to our lives. Our bodies are made up mainly of water, and the supply has to be constantly renewed. But, again, as in the case of solar energy, there is, at least in the humid areas, no lack of water. There is enough and to spare;

therefore human life is not limited by a scant supply of water. In arid regions water is frequently the limiting factor rather than soil, but the greater part of the population of the earth lives where soil rather than water or solar energy is the limiting factor. For this reason we may repeat that the most important physical factor in determining the actual conditions of human life is soil.

Soil is, of course, of peculiar interest to rural people. Their work consists in so handling it as to promote plant and animal growth. The kind of work they do and the kind of crops they grow depend largely on the kind of soil they have, though climate, location, and other factors help to determine these things. The kind of farming done in a community, in turn, helps to determine the kind of social life the people live.

The effects of markets on the life of the people. Not soil alone, but markets as well, determine what the farmer shall grow. This fact is well illustrated by the prevalence of market gardening, fruit growing, and dairying near large urban centers, though the modern milk train is moving the dairy farms farther from the great cities. Formerly the market garden was located near the city, not simply because the markets were easily accessible but also because it was easy to get supplies of fertilizer from the city stables, where large numbers of draft horses were kept for work on the city streets. The gradual substitution of the motor truck for the horse on city streets is likely to have a profound influence on farming near large centers. Cheap transportation, especially when garden products can be shipped in carload or trainload lots, has enabled the truck farmer to flourish at great distances from city markets. Florida and the Gulf coast, and the Imperial and Sacramento valleys of California, send their produce even to the cities of the Atlantic seaboard. In these cases the development of truck farming is due to soil, climate, and water rather than to location with respect to markets.

Of all forms of intensive farming, market gardening is probably in the lead. The work of the market gardener is strenuous and, during the growing season, is spread over long hours. Truckloads of garden produce are on the road to the city market

long before daylight, starting early in the morning and sometimes even the night before. The continual hurry of the market has a strong influence on the life of those who carry on this industry. In recent years the development of farming under glass has prolonged the working period from the summer months to the entire year. The result is that while the income of the market gardener is doubtless increased, he has less time to enjoy his income than he had when there was a period of respite from labor during the winter months. Much that is true of market-garden conditions is also true of truck farming and fruit-growing.

One serious social problem that accompanies market gardening, fruit-growing, and truck farming is the existence of large numbers of casual laborers. Indirectly it is the geographical location and the accessibility of markets that create this social problem. Whether these industries are completely dependent upon supplies of casual labor or not, it is too early to decide. Certain it is, however, that no large area is given over to market gardening, fruit-growing, or truck farming unless casual labor is available. The market gardens in the neighborhood of large cities make use of the labor of women and children, usually of recently arrived immigrants. In the fruit-growing and truck-farming regions considerable quantities of migratory casual labor are found, sometimes moving from one region to another, according to the season or the condition of the labor market. Sometimes these casual laborers are native-born Americans; frequently they are of Mexican origin. The existence of such large numbers of casual laborers moving from place to place creates a definite social problem and affects the character of the social life of those rural communities which are dependent upon such labor.

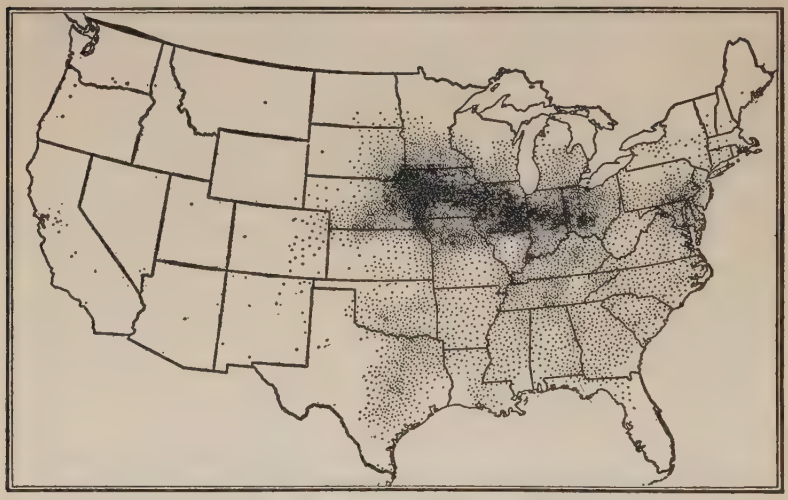
The effects of dairying on the life of the people. The dairy industry formerly flourished close to large urban centers, but, as indicated above, the milk train and the motor truck have made it possible for large cities to derive their milk supplies from areas hundreds of miles distant. Most of the large dairies that formerly existed in the immediate neighborhood of the cities of

the Atlantic seaboard have recently gone out of existence because of the competition of dairy farms that are located farther away, where feed is cheaper and more abundant. Dairying is usually associated with certain other industries in order to make use of the manure and other by-products of dairying. This is particularly true in those dairy regions that market their milk in the form of butter or cheese rather than in the form of fresh milk. Poultry-raising and hog-raising are developed to utilize the waste from the cheese factory or the creamery. In Denmark, which in recent years has become predominantly a dairy country, there are three principal products: butter, eggs, bacon. The most important of these is butter; the others are by-products.

Dairying tends to increase with density of population. It is therefore a product of those geographic conditions that make for density. It requires a high grade of intelligence on the part of the farmer, and, being a year-round occupation, develops a considerable degree of steadfastness of character. Since the care of cows requires a rigid schedule, the dairyman and his family must live a well-ordered life. The social life of a community of dairy farmers must therefore adjust itself to the exactions of the dairy herd. Social gatherings, even religious meetings, must not compete for the dairy farmer's time, but must take place at such hours as are convenient for him. Religious services, social programs, lectures, and even political gatherings sometimes have to begin as late as ten o'clock in the evening. Those farmers who are able to meet the exacting conditions of dairying find some compensation in the fact that they usually enjoy better incomes than farmers who work only during the summer and are idle during the winter.

The corn belt and social problems. Crop areas, such as the cotton belt, the corn belt, and the cattle ranges, develop each its own type of social life. In this country Indian corn, or maize, is our principal agricultural crop. The reason for this is that the whole central area of the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri valleys is admirably adapted to the growing of that crop. The other industries of that region, and much of the social life of its rural people, are determined by this one geographical fact. Most of

the corn is fed on the farms, there being no other adequate opportunity to market the huge crop. This means that corn-growing and stock-raising go hand in hand. Where cattle-feeding is a large rural industry, it affects the social life of the whole community. In the corn belt, stock-raising means the feeding of hogs or beef cattle, though in recent years dairying has made some headway. Whereas formerly the farmer marketed his corn almost exclusively in the form of beef or

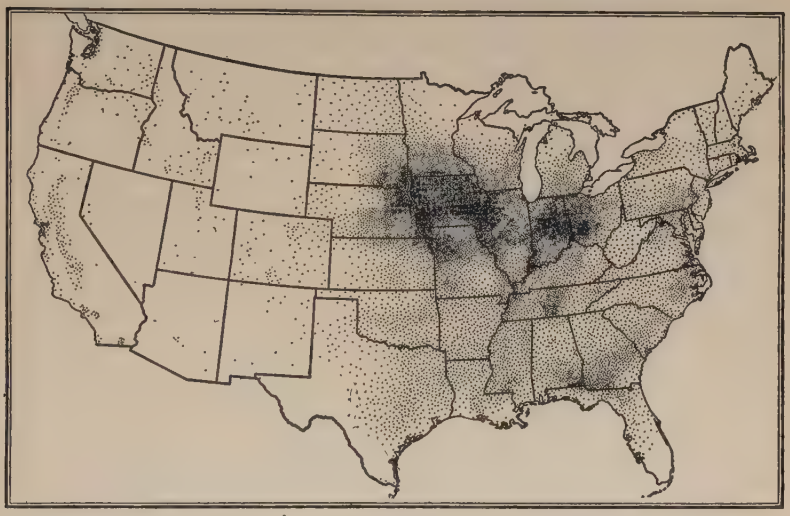


CORN PRODUCTION IN 1919

Each dot represents three hundred thousand bushels

pork, he is now beginning to market it as butter or cheese. This tends to change the social life. Nevertheless, hogs and beef still furnish the corn farmer with his principal outlet. A glance at the corn map and the hog map (the maps which show by dots where the hogs and corn are grown) reveals that the two maps coincide almost exactly, or that they look very much alike to the casual eye. This indicates how corn-growing and hog-feeding go together. These two industries determine the social life of the corn belt, or at least give it a certain character which distinguishes it from the life of the cotton belt, the wheat belts, and the dairy regions.

Though corn is grown in practically every county in the United States, the corn belt itself, where corn is the principal crop, is somewhat limited. It includes the whole of the states of Iowa, Illinois, and Indiana, and contiguous portions of Ohio, Kentucky, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan. These states are also among the principal cattle states, though some of the grazing states further west should also be included among the cattle states.[1]



SWINE (INCLUDING THOSE IN CITIES AND VILLAGES), JANUARY 1, 1920

Each dot represents five thousand head

Relation of price of land to the life of the people. Even the price of land has its effect on the social life of rural districts. Where land is highly productive, either because of fertility or location, both of which are geographic factors, it tends to bring a high price, and high-priced land generally goes with a high percentage of tenancy. Tenancy, in turn, creates a train of social problems. This is true not only of the United States but of other parts of the world. It is only where land is of exceptional fertility that it is worth anything to an absentee owner.

[1] From the United States Department of Agriculture Yearbook for 1921.

Land that is only moderately good is of value only to the farmer who works it either with his own hands or under his own immediate management. For anyone to own poor land or medium land expecting to make anything out of it either by hiring management and labor or by renting it to someone else is futile, especially in a country where management and labor bring high prices. In a country where highly competent managers and laborers can be hired for very low wages there is somewhat better opportunity for absentee ownership, but it is to be hoped that such conditions will never exist in this country.

Diversified farming and social problems. Diversity of markets leads to diversified farming, and diversified farming produces a social life different from that resulting from the one-crop system. Diversified farming gives the people many and varied interests. It also requires a great many different tasks, and these change, not only from season to season but from day to day and from hour to hour during the same day. There are not many seasons of the year when the farmer and his family are not kept busy. This gives them a better opportunity than the one-crop system affords to convert their labor time into cash. The farmer who is busy only for a third of the year must earn very unusual wages for his labor during that period if he is to live well the year round. This is one reason why regions of one-crop farming are not usually prosperous over long periods of time. During the short period when farmers are mining the soil, or selling in the form of crops the accumulated fertility of thousands of years, there may be the appearance of prosperity, but it does not last.

This suggests another reason for diversified farming, namely, the conservation of soil fertility. The reason, therefore, why most farmers are engaged in diversified farming is not merely that they like it, but that they find it, in the long run, more profitable. If one could make a good living by the one-crop system, under which he could be idle half the year, it would be very pleasant; but there are not many occupations in which one can live well by working only half the time. Diversified farming is a means of conserving man power as well as soil fertility. In

a country where man power is expensive, its conservation is quite as important as that of soil fertility.

The one-crop system which prevailed in many frontier communities, especially in the prairie states of the Northwest, may have been a necessity. There is not much doubt that from a purely agricultural standpoint the settlement of most of these states was somewhat premature; that is, the land was brought under cultivation before the demand for farm products was sufficient to justify the expansion. About the only product of tillage that could be marketed at all was wheat in the Northwest and cotton or tobacco in the South; no other product of the plow would stand the transportation over such distances. Even wheat did not pay in any absolute sense; that is to say, if the farmers had tried to put back into the soil as much fertility as the crops extracted, practically every bushel of wheat would have been sold at a loss. It was not until about the beginning of the present century that the demand for the products of our Western lands began to catch up with the supply and give them a price that could, by any sound method of calculation, really be called remunerative.

Even though the farmers did not put back into the soil the plant food which their crops extracted, they still lived under great hardship. Meanwhile they were gradually turning to diversified farming, partly because the improvement of markets made it possible to sell other things than wheat or cotton.

The wheat belt has followed the frontier westward. In the early half of the nineteenth century it was in western New York and Pennsylvania, with Rochester as the greatest milling center of the country. Gradually it moved westward through Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, into southern Minnesota and Iowa. Then, in the later years of the nineteenth century, it split into two parts, the spring-wheat belt moving northward and westward, and the winter-wheat belt moving in a southwesterly direction until it is now found in central Kansas and parts of Oklahoma and Nebraska. In the seventies and eighties the spring-wheat belt was in southern Minnesota, and Minneapolis quickly rose to first rank as a flour-manufacturing center. Year by year,

however, the spring-wheat belt moved northwestward, until it centered in the Red River valley. Later it moved still further westward and northward, spreading across the line into Canada. As the wheat belt moved westward, diversified farming took its place in its former areas. This movement of the wheat belt westward has been misunderstood by some foreign writers, who attributed it to soil exhaustion. It was not soil exhaustion that pushed it westward, but the competition with a superior type of farming. When farmers discover that diversified farming pays better than wheat farming, they naturally turn to diversified farming. This superior system displaces the inferior one, and pushes it further and further westward. There is no evidence of soil exhaustion in such states as Illinois and Iowa. The evidence seems to be that the soil is improving under the present system.

The social results of diversified farming. The shift from the one-crop system to diversified farming produces many social results. Under the one-crop system there are seasons of intense activity, when the crop demands all the time and energy of the farmer and his family, and there are other seasons when there is little or nothing to do. During the seasons of intense activity there is no time for recreation, reading, and education. Even church attendance is likely to suffer unless the farmer is deeply religious. During the period of idleness prolonged systems of recreation, education, and religious worship are possible. The family may go fishing, touring, or camping. Its members may attend short courses at the agricultural college and local Chautauquas, and avail themselves of other educational opportunities. They may participate in religious revivals. Even the old-fashioned camp meeting was more dependent upon the one-crop system than is commonly understood. After diversified farming has come in, especially if it is mixed with dairying, there are no prolonged seasons of idleness. There is work that must be done every day. Such recreational, educational, and religious activities as are possible must be wedged in between these regularly recurring daily tasks. If some members of the family go fishing or touring, or attend Chautauquas, camp meetings, or short

courses at the college, other members must stay at home to look after the work. These outside activities become individual rather than family affairs.

The cotton belt and its social problems. In the cotton belt the one-crop system has survived longer than in the wheat belt. The reason seems to be that no system of diversified farming has been found that is definitely superior to cotton farming. Except where the boll weevil has seriously interfered, there is no other crop that pays quite so well in the cotton belt as cotton. The farmer himself has therefore no very strong reason for growing anything else where he might grow cotton. So long as cotton is profitable it will doubtless be impossible to displace cotton-growing with diversified farming, except under special conditions.

There is still another reason why the one-crop system prevails in the cotton belt. Good cotton land is usually good corn land, but there is much good corn land that will not grow cotton because the growing season is too short. There is, therefore, a definite physical reason why cotton is not grown in the corn belt. The reason why corn is not grown in the cotton belt is not physical but economic; cotton pays better than corn where it can be grown. Besides, corn and cotton would be competing rather than noncompeting crops; that is, they would require the farmer's attention during the same periods of the year. If the cotton farmer tried to grow much corn, it would interfere with his growing of cotton. Some cotton farmers have found the growing of a winter forage crop profitable because it does not interfere with cotton-growing.

During the early development of the cotton industry, negro slaves were concentrated in the cotton belt. They were used more largely in cotton-growing than in any other kind of work. Hence the fact that the negro is found mainly in a belt that coincides with the cotton belt. Here we have a concrete illustration of the influence of geographical and climatic factors in the distribution of certain elements in our population. A long growing-season, or period between frosts, is necessary for successful cotton-growing. This made cotton a southern crop. Rich soil is

also needed. The sandy lands of the Gulf coast are not so rich as the black prairie a little further north. Consequently, the two factors — a long growing-season and a rich soil — have restricted the cotton belt and the denser portions of the negro belt to a relatively narrow strip from the Carolinas through central Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, northern Louisiana, southern Arkansas, Oklahoma, and northern Texas.

There is a high percentage of tenancy in the cotton belt, partly because the white tenants of northern Texas are too poor to buy the high-priced land of that section, and partly because the negroes at the eastern half of the cotton belt are too poor to buy even the low-priced land found there. Thus the reasons for tenancy in the cotton belt of Texas are similar to those for tenancy in the corn belt of central Illinois. Taken as a whole, however, the percentage of tenancy is greater in the cotton belt than in the corn belt.

Of course the greatest of all social problems in the cotton belt is that growing out of the relation between the white and black races. A problem of this kind is one of the most difficult of all those found in the realm of sociology. There are four possibilities here, and no fifth, but each of the four when considered alone seems worse than any of the others. First, amalgamation. Where this takes place, there is no longer a race problem because there is no longer a difference of races. Secondly, occupational separation, which means a system of caste. If whites and blacks do not compete in the same occupations but certain occupations are turned over completely to the blacks and others to the whites, the possibilities of friction between the two races are materially reduced; but a system of caste violates all our sentiments of democracy. Thirdly, territorial separation. If the blacks would all live in one region and the whites in another, the occasions for friction would be very much reduced, but it seems practically impossible to get the two races to agree to such a separation. The fourth possibility is a continuation of the race problem, the two races remaining ethnologically distinct, competing for the same jobs or for the same lines of business, mixed up in the same territory, but

always holding more or less aloof from each other, more or less suspicious of each other, with constant misunderstanding and irritation, and with a possibility of race war always hanging, like the sword of Damocles, over the heads of the people.

Small-grain farming and the life of the people. Small-grain farms are by force of circumstances located on the outer fringe of our tillable area, and the small-grain farmer necessarily has a more or less isolated life. Small-grain farming in this country has been primarily in wheat, with oats as a secondary crop of considerable importance, neither barley nor rye ever having risen to a place among our major crops. It is doubtful if it ever pays to grow wheat here except as a frontier crop and as a more or less temporary expedient. Yet wheat is grown, even in such old, densely populated countries as England, one reason being that the English dairy farmer needs, or thinks he needs, a great deal of bedding for his cattle. If he did not grow it himself, he would find it expensive to purchase. In such a case it may be said that the wheat itself is a by-product of straw. Here and there, however, wheat forms a necessary part of the system of rotation that is, on the whole, profitable. If so, wheat-growing is justified.

Another possible reason for the growing of wheat in old countries is that it may be fitted into a system of part-time work in factories or in other nonagricultural occupations. Some such system as this may be eventually worked out, but so long as there are areas of frontier land that can be brought under cultivation by the methods of extensive farming, the world's demand for wheat can be supplied from these sources at prices that will hardly justify even such a system of alternate farming and indoor work as is involved in this suggestion.

Another possibility is that farm people may be willing to get along with small incomes if they have abundant leisure in which to enjoy themselves. The time between seeding and harvesting would drag heavily unless the farmers and their families had a good deal of visiting and picnicking during that period. Again, after grain is threshed and the fall plowing done, there may be other opportunities for leisure. It is the age-old question of

more leisure or more goods. Farmers as well as all other classes have to face it. The Indian hunter as well as the cultured urbanite had to face it. The Latin-American peon decides it in one way, the bustling Yankee in another.

This is one of the great questions that every people has to face, Does it prefer to take its prosperity in the form of more leisure or more goods?[1] With our present equipment of labor-saving machinery we could probably live as well as our grandfathers lived if we worked only half time, — certainly if we worked half as long and hard as they did, — but we do not care to live as our grandfathers did. We want more goods than they had. Similarly, our own grandchildren can probably live as well as we now do if they will work half as long as we do; but again the question will arise, Will they be content to live as well as we do? Possibly they will want more goods than we have. If so, they will have the choice of working hard and having more goods or working only half time and having fewer goods, or the same quantity that we have. In general our people have cared more for goods than for leisure; being a somewhat energetic people, we have not objected to hard work. Accordingly, we have usually chosen the alternative of hard work with an abundance of goods rather than easy work with a scarcity of goods. This question is involved in the choice of the one-crop system, with periods of leisure, or of some system of diversified farming which brings less leisure but larger incomes.

Since wheat-growing is largely a frontier industry, there is a smaller percentage of tenancy on wheat farms than in corn, cotton, or mixed farming. One reason is that most of the wheat land is so cheap that the farmer has no great difficulty in paying for it. In the second place, it does not yield enough rent to justify the investment in such land by an absentee owner. The fact that there is comparatively little tenancy in the wheat belts goes a long way toward overcoming the other disadvantages of frontier farming and the one-crop system. Social conditions are probably as good as the meager incomes of the people will per-

[1] T. N. Carver, The Present Economic Revolution in the United States, p. 162. Little, Brown & Company, Boston, 1925.

mit. It is the unprofitable nature of their farming, rather than absentee ownership, that explains such backward conditions as are found to exist.

Frontier democracy. An important fact to be reckoned with in any new community is that all are newcomers; everyone has to make his own friends and his own social adjustments. Young people starting out in life can go to such a community and start with practically nothing and yet not be regarded as poor whites. If they began life in an old community with the same meager equipment, there would be such a contrast between them and the old, well-established families as to make their social position a little difficult. The freshness of the point of view of pioneer people, their democratic ways, and their general simplicity create a wholesome and attractive social life in spite of what is often extreme poverty.

The adventurous spirit of the pioneer makes him willing to take financial as well as other chances. He is more likely to hazard an investment in a farm than are his timid brethren who remain in the relatively sheltered conditions further east. This also helps to explain the smaller percentage of tenancy on the frontier. At least it helps to counteract the fact that the pioneer has to pay a much higher rate of interest if he borrows money on a mortgage. Other things being equal, a high rate of interest should discourage borrowing on a mortgage, but other things are not equal when we compare pioneers with other people. The pioneer is willing to take a long chance, even though he is penalized by a high rate of interest. He is also likely to possess more initiative in other ways. In spite of the lack of educational and other social opportunities he manages to find for himself some means of education and to create for himself an agreeable social life in so far as his physical poverty will permit. The cult of incompetence and self-pity does not flourish among pioneer peoples. They do not wait for the government to do something for them, but proceed to do things for themselves.

The new agricultural frontier. In recent years a new type of pioneer community is being developed in some of the cut-over regions in the tier of states along the northern border: in

Maine, northern New York, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. Regions that were formerly covered with dense forests have been denuded by the lumbermen. In some cases the forest is gradually restoring itself; in others, farmers have undertaken to clear the land of stumps and other obstructions in order to make farms out of the raw material left by the lumbermen. Here pioneers and frontiersmen may still be seen conquering regions that were once possessed by the Norway pine, the oak, the maple, and the walnut, and inhabited by the deer, the wolf, the moose, and the bear. The limiting factor in the development of agriculture in these regions is markets. The land is a little too far north for the growing of Indian corn; the labor cost of growing wheat is more than on the great prairies of the Northwest; therefore the problem is to find other suitable money crops. Most of this area is excellent potato land, but the potato is so prolific that it is easy to oversupply the market; besides, it is a bulky product, and the transportation costs are heavy. Eventually, when our population has doubled and the food problem has become somewhat serious, markets will be automatically supplied, and vast crops of potatoes will be grown in this northern belt.

These regions are being cleared by adventurous men and women who little realize the magnitude of the task that lies before them. One sees the log cabin, the tar-papered shack, and other evidences of primitive pioneer life that match in their simplicity the sod houses of the settlers on our Western prairies. The traveler who sees the ruggedness of the land wonders what will become of such vast stretches of apparently barren country. It is too early to make any definite prediction, but those who attempt to farm the rougher and more rugged portions may have to give up the struggle; the less rugged and more fertile areas will doubtless be conquered for settled agriculture. It is already recounted that in many cases the workers are making progress in clearing land, growing potatoes, grain, and hay, keeping a few cows and poultry, and developing small dairy and poultry industries. A county which is largely cut-over land has already risen to first place in the poultry business of Minnesota.

There is a similar strip of cut-over land in the Far South which is already attracting pioneer farmers. Though the crops grown are different, the social conditions of pioneer life are not unlike those of the northern strip. Sweet potatoes, corn, velvet beans, hogs, poultry, and a considerable variety of garden truck occupy the time of these Southern pioneers.

Irrigation and social life. Some interesting communities, from the recreational and social point of view, are found in the irrigated sections of the arid West. The very nature of irrigation requires working together by considerable numbers of people. This necessity which forces people to work together tends to produce a social attitude; in fact, it is probable that the whole social and moral nature of man is the product of economic necessity. In the long period of prehistoric development those who worked and fought together as comrades got on better than those who tried to work and fight alone. Those who were so ill-natured as to be unable to develop a spirit of comradeship and to work with their fellows were gradually eliminated; those who easily developed a spirit of comradeship were preserved. Thus the civilized varieties of the human race were developed by a process similar to that by which animal-breeders have bred out the wild and ferocious qualities in their breeds of live stock and bred in the tame and teachable qualities. By disposing of the ferocious and intractable and preserving the tamable and teachable, generation after generation for thousands of years, we have made our domestic animals tame. A similar process has tamed and civilized the successful branches of the human race. The process is probably still going on. It is probably making rather more progress in the irrigated sections than anywhere else.

In countries where labor is cheap, irrigation is sometimes successfully carried on by pumping water from lower to higher levels; in a country where labor is expensive, this would so increase the cost of growing any crop as to make it prohibitive. In such a country the only practical method of irrigation is to tap the streams at their higher levels and allow gravitation to carry the water onto the lands that are to be irrigated. This re-

quires a high degree of foresight and constructive management as well as wholehearted and sympathetic coöperation.

Because of the initial expense of developing the irrigation system it is necessary to get a considerable product per acre if irrigation is to pay. Consequently the tendency of irrigation farming is toward the intensive rather than the extensive type. This, in turn, necessitates the growing of crops that respond vigorously to intensive care and cultivation. Alfalfa, the sugar beet, and garden and fruit products are coming to be the principal crops under irrigation.

Another result follows from this. Such products are not so easily sold as are the large staple crops like wheat, corn, hogs, and cattle; that is, there is no highly organized, world-wide market already in existence to absorb the farmer's product in indefinite quantities. The growers of these products of intensive cultivation always have an acute marketing problem on their hands. This compels them to give considerable attention to this most difficult problem, which, in turn, not only develops their intelligence but requires a spirit of coöperation.

The relative density of the population in an irrigated district, and the necessity for working together imposed upon the people by the facts that every individual farmer is dependent upon a large and expensive system of dams and ditches, that even the keeping of the ditches in order requires much neighborly coöperation, that irrigation calls for intensive agriculture, and that the products of intensive agriculture usually call for scientific marketing, force the people of an irrigated section to a high degree of socialization. Of necessity they have learned the arts of neighborhood coöperation in the matter of growing and marketing crops, and the spirit thus developed produces other results of a purely social and recreational nature. Schools, churches, recreation centers, good roads, telephones, rural free delivery, libraries, hospitals, and clinics are more likely to be found in such communities than in those where the individual farmer is more self-sufficing.

Man's dependence on the forces of nature. We conclude, therefore, that although advancing civilization gives man increasing

independence of the forces of nature, yet this independence is by no means complete. We are still powerfully influenced by the geographical and physical conditions under which we have to make our living. Even if we could stubbornly ignore such facts as aridity, for example, and persist in farming as though the soil were moist, the fact remains that it does not pay to do so. We make a better living by conforming our practices to that physical fact. Even if we could stubbornly persist in long vacations while carrying on diversified farming, again the fact remains that it does not pay. We make a better living by fitting our recreation into our system of farming. It is the steady pressure of economic advantage, rather than a rigid and inflexible mechanical necessity, that gradually induces us to conform our social life to the physical conditions. Because of this steady pressure of economic advantage our social life yields to the influences of climate, altitude, location, markets, density of population, type of soil, long winters, pioneer conditions, price of land, irrigation, and a multitude of other things.

QUESTIONS

1. Consider the following questions with regard to your county seat or some other town or city with which you are acquainted: If it has grown to be an important city, was it because of some physical advantage, such as water power or the intersection of two or more railroads, or was it because of the enterprise of a few of its leading citizens? If it failed to grow and prosper, was this failure due to the lack of physical advantage or to the lack of farsighted enterprise on the part of its citizens?

2. Suppose a great superpower system were developed over a wide geographical area under which all the available water power was harnessed and a number of steam power plants were located at strategic points, and all these sources of power were bound together in one system, with electric power distributed widely throughout the region. How do you think this would affect rural life within that region?

3. Discuss the question Which among the following types of farming tend to produce the best social life in rural districts, —

one-crop farming as compared with diversified farming, grain farming as compared with dairy farming, irrigation farming as compared with farming that depends upon rainfall?

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CHAPTER IV

OVER ALL—THE PEOPLE

Where country people fit in. As civilization advances, each kind of work comes to be performed by a special group. How to define the functions of each group and the relations between specialized groups becomes an increasingly difficult problem. Today, as never before, distinctions are drawn between groups. The special function of rural people is to feed all other groups and to provide the raw materials for clothing them. In order to do this they must buy back some of their own products in a more finished form from town people. When there is a break in this circle, or when one group or another fails to function, it is usually the rural population that suffers first. Ultimately, of course, if the disaster becomes widespread and fundamental, the city people suffer more intensely than the rural people, because the latter can at least provide themselves with the basic necessaries of life and, for a short time at least, can do without the town-made refinements of life.

Farming a primary industry. The furnishing of food and raw material to the manufacturer, the merchant, the wholesaler, and the retailer is a primary industry. Working these materials up into finished products is a secondary industry. Which is the more important to society is argued pro and con by urban and rural groups, and the argument never leads to a profitable conclusion. All discussions as to which of two necessary factors is more important are futile, first, because there is no answer, and secondly, because if there were an answer it would be of no use.

There is, however, an always-pertinent question, somewhat related to this, which can be answered, and of which the answer is of some use after it is reached. That question relates to the balance of the two industries. Is one overdeveloped in comparison with the other? If rural industry is overdeveloped and

urban industry underdeveloped (that is, if there is overproduction of farm crops and underproduction of town products), it is more important that efforts be made to promote the development of urban than of rural industry. Under opposite conditions, where urban industries are overdeveloped and rural industries underdeveloped, it is equally certain that wise statesmanship should give more attention to promoting and expanding rural industries than urban industries.

The thing that is relatively scarce is the thing that generally engages our attention, not the thing that is sufficient for our purposes. When, in any country, agriculture is overdeveloped, it becomes unprofitable. If, at the same time, urban industries are underdeveloped, they become profitable. The unprofitableness of agriculture tends to discourage others from entering upon it. The profitableness of urban industry encourages men to leave the farms and go to town. This movement of population, if encouraged, tends to restore the balance.

Are there too many farmers? The impoverishment of farmers is sometimes, but not always, the result of the fact that there are too many farmers, or that there is too much agricultural production. When this is the case, the last thing the statesman should think of doing is to encourage still further agricultural expansion. The thing to do is to retard agricultural expansion, or else, which means the same thing, to encourage more people to go into nonagricultural pursuits. If all rural people will understand and accept the fact that they are, to a certain extent, dependent upon urban people, and if all urban people will likewise understand and accept the fact that they are dependent upon rural people, and that widespread prosperity depends upon preserving a normal balance between these interdependent groups, then the two groups will be able to get along peaceably and comfortably together. If either group gets an exaggerated notion of its own importance, or underestimates the importance of the other, there is likely to be misunderstanding, and misunderstanding never promotes good.

Numbers of country and city people. The United States census makes an arbitrary distinction between rural and urban

population by classifying as rural those communities that contain less than 2500 people, and as urban those that contain 2500 or more. If we properly interpret this classification we shall find that a smaller number of people actually live in the open country than are classified as rural. Eight and five-tenths per cent of the total population live in villages and in incorporated towns of less than 2500. While the census classifies 48.6 per cent of the population as rural, we must subtract 8.5 per cent in order to get the number (namely, 40.1 per cent) that actually live in the open country. The urban group constitutes 51.4 per cent, although if we add the villagers, it would amount to 59.9 per cent. It is fair to say, however, that approximately half of our population, according to the census of 1920, is rural, owing to the fact that there are many retired farmers in the villages, towns, and smaller cities, and that many of the small tradesmen are really rural people though not actual farmers.

Changing from a rural to an urban country. The 1920 census will be remembered as one that marks an epoch. It shows for the first time in our history an urban population in excess of the rural.[1]

Rural population	42,436,776
Urban population	54,304,603
Population in incorporated villages and towns of less than 2500	8,969,241
Total	105,710,620

This fact is important to the student of the social sciences, for it has an important bearing upon our national development.

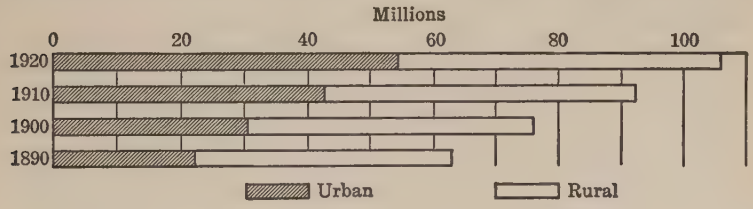
According to the latest information 31 per cent of the increase of the rural population during the decade from 1910 to 1920 was due to immigration. The geographic distribution of the immigrant will be discussed later in this chapter; at this point it is sufficient to remember that 1,290,000 immigrants settled in rural communities. A still more important factor in the rural population of the United States is the natural increase, or the excess of births over deaths. From this source 2,861,000 persons were added to our rural population, making a total increase from

[1] See J. M. Gillette's "Study in Social Dynamics," American Statistical Publications, Vol. XV, p. 367.

both sources of 4,151,000. The rate of natural increase of the rural inhabitants from 1900 to 1910 was almost twice that of the urban, according to Gillette (loc. cit. p. 359):

Birth rate, rural, 30.4 per cent; urban, 25.2 per cent
Death rate, rural, 13.5 per cent; urban, 16.4 per cent
Natural increase, rural, 16.9 per cent; urban, 8.8 per cent; average, 12.84 per cent

The following graph from Census Monograph I, 1920, shows the relative numbers of rural and urban populations in the last four census periods. It shows not only the total increase of our population but the greater increase of the urban as compared with the rural population. It indicates a large fact that applies not only to our own country but to all the nations; everywhere the rate of rural increase seems greater than the urban. If we take note of the rate of natural increase, it would seem that there is no great danger of too much migration from country to city. If there were no such migration, there would soon be too many people engaged in farming and too few in town industries.



As to the sources of urban increase, Gillette gives the following figures for 1900–1910: rural migration, 30.7 per cent; immigration, 41.0 per cent; natural increase, 20.5 per cent; incorporation, 7.8 per cent. It is especially important to note that only 20 per cent of the growth is due to natural increase. The rest is due either to immigration from the rural districts, to immigration from abroad, or to the expansion of the corporate limits of cities.

The cityward drift. The movement from country to city has been deplored in nearly every civilized country in every age. Plato expressed the hope that there would never be any large

cities. Strabo saw the danger when the farmers from the outlying districts began moving into the Eternal City. The Roman Senate passed laws to stem the tide. Centuries later, just prior to the French Revolution, Mirabeau became alarmed, and some of his best utterances are those directed against the mistaken policy of the landlords, to which he attributed the movement in France from the country to the city. Oliver Goldsmith, in England, voiced the general lament over the rural exodus in his oft-quoted poem "The Deserted Village." The statesmen and scholars of the present day are trying to find some way by which the condition of the people who work in the country may be so improved as to make them contented to remain where they are. In modern Germany, from Bismarck down to the World War, the agricultural policy was planned with a view to holding the country people on the soil, and in our own country every statesman is giving attention to the same problem.

John M. Gillette [1] states that during the last century the shifting of the population center of gravity from rural to urban districts has proceeded at a constantly accelerated rate. In 1800 about 97 per cent of the people of Europe were rural, but in 1900 only about 25 per cent were classed as rural. In 1800 there were only 14 European cities having as many as 100,000 inhabitants, while in 1900 there were 136 such cities.

Why agriculture falls behind. In the United States, as elsewhere, it is the common thing today to blame manufacturing for the movement away from the country. As pointed out above, the natural rate of increase in the rural districts is a little larger than in the cities. This alone should normally, unless counteracted by other forces, result in a certain tendency for the population to redistribute itself by moving from those places where it multiplies rapidly to those places where it multiplies less rapidly. There are, however, other forces at work. As civilization advances and wealth increases, consumers are demanding more and more refined products. The indoor industries are mainly concerned with adding refinements to the raw materials produced by the outdoor industries. This

[1] Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. XIX, p. 136.

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means that, as time passes, a larger proportion of the total work of producing a finished product will be done indoors, and a smaller proportion outdoors. It takes no less cotton to produce a cheap dress than an expensive one. The expensive one has received more labor, however, in the spinning and weaving of finer goods, in the dyeing or printing, and in the make-up of the goods into a dress. As women spend more and more money on dress the result will not be more labor in the cotton fields but more labor in the textile mills and the dressmaking establishments.

This is a tendency which shows itself in nearly every industry or group of industries. So long as it continues, the demand for labor in the cities will expand more rapidly than in the country, and this will call for a continual migration. The most that can be done, therefore, is to make agriculture as profitable as possible, in order that it may retain its fair share of the efficient and capable men and women. If they are not forced by sheer hardship to migrate, but are induced to migrate from good conditions to still better conditions, nobody will have any ground for complaint. It is for this reason that the attitude of our government and that of our state governments toward the rural problem is not one of favoring a back-to-the-land movement, but one of trying to help the farmers make as good a living as possible.

Though our farmers frequently think they are badly off, they are not so badly off as the farmers (that is, the actual workers on the land) of other countries, because our system of agricultural production is carried on in a different manner from that of other countries. The American farmer produces more per man than the tiller of the soil in any of the old countries. His only close rivals are the farmers of Canada. The American farmer is able to produce so much that his present problem is not that of increasing his production, but that of getting better prices. One result, however, of the efficiency of the American farmer is that fewer persons are required on our farms to sustain a large urban population than are required in any of the older countries. This in itself is another factor in the rural

migration. In proportion to the labor employed, more and better agricultural machinery is used here, and more power is used to drive it, than is used anywhere else, with the exception of Canada.

Distribution of population. The distribution of the two classes, rural and urban, is an important factor in the balance between rural and urban industries; but it is not the only factor. It is possible to carry on a balanced production nowadays with a smaller proportion of our population actually living in the country and working on the farms than would have been necessary before the days of agricultural machinery. A still smaller proportion are needed on the farms, or a larger proportion in the cities, than were needed before the standard of living of our people rose to its present level, or when they were satisfied with simpler and coarser products. Even such a commonplace commodity as milk requires almost as much work (in cooling, pasteurization, bottling, etc.) as is required on the farm where it was originally produced. The change in the distribution of our population into the two classes, rural and urban, may therefore be regarded as perfectly normal.

Distribution as to sex. Next in importance to the question of the distribution of the population into two large groups, rural and urban, comes the question of distribution of the two sexes. It is commonly believed that the points of view and the attitudes of the two sexes are somewhat different. Whether this is due to some inherent difference of mentality, or merely to the different habits and customs that are followed by the two sexes, need not be decided at this point. A population in which there is an overwhelming majority of males, as in some of the mining camps of the last century or the ranch areas of the present, is likely to develop characteristics different from those of communities that are predominantly feminine, as in some of the factory and commercial towns of the Northeastern states. In order to understand the rural population, or the difference between rural and urban populations, it is desirable to know something of the relative proportion of the sexes in the two types of population.

The total population of the United States is distributed according to sex as follows:

Total population	105,710,620
Males	53,900,431
Females	51,810,189
Excess of males	2,090,242
Excess of males among natives of white parentage	851,605
Excess of females among native whites of foreign or mixed parentage	155,100
Excess of males among foreign-born whites	1,343,890
Total negro population	10,463,131
Males	5,209,436
Females	5,253,695
Excess of females	44,259

The excess of males among the recent immigrants is due to the ease with which a man can pick up and leave at short notice, but even among these immigrants the disparity between the sexes is not so great as in former days.

In the urban districts the population is distributed according to sex as follows:

Total population	54,304,603
Males	27,203,312
Females	27,101,291
Excess of males	102,021
Native whites of native parentage	24,556,729
Males	12,190,465
Females	12,366,264
Excess of females	175,799
Native whites of foreign or mixed parentage	15,706,372
Males	7,622,766
Females	8,083,606
Excess of females	460,840
Foreign-born whites	10,356,983
Males	5,560,396
Females	4,796,587
Excess of males	763,809

A fact most worthy of note is the very large number of foreign-born persons living in cities, which helps to account for the fact that although the females outnumber the males among the native-born of our cities, yet the males outnumber the females when the whole urban population is considered.

Quite different are the figures for rural districts, where the distribution is as follows:

Total population	51,406,017
Males	26,697,119
Females	24,708,898
Excess of males	1,988,221
Native whites of native parentage	33,865,228
Males	17,446,316
Females	16,418,912
Excess of males	1,027,404
Native whites of foreign or mixed parentage	6,979,832
Males	3,642,786
Females	3,337,046
Excess of males	305,740
Foreign-born whites	3,355,771
Males	1,967,926
Females	1,387,845
Excess of males	580,081

It will be noticed that in every rural group there is an excess of males over females, and the total excess of the former over the latter is much greater in rural districts than in urban communities. The distinctions are due to occupational opportunities offered to each sex in the respective centers. It is easier for a foreign-born woman to find employment in town than in the country. In later chapters this matter will be given further consideration.

The reason for this excess of males in rural communities has been mentioned already. We expect a greater number of foreign-born males to go to the small towns and mining districts, to work on railroad construction, to labor in lumber camps, and in some cases to engage in farm labor. The result, as we have seen, is an excess of 580,081 males over females in rural districts. This disparity, however, is small when compared with the native-born whites of native parentage, where the excess of males in rural districts amounts to 1,027,404. These figures seem to show that the native white girl of native white parents is even more inclined than her brother to move to town. The need of finding the causes for this widespread social phenomenon in the movement of the population in the United States is very evident.

The negro population according to sex. The distribution of the negro population of the United States is as follows:

Total negro population	10,463,131
Negro population of rural districts	6,903,658
Males	3,471,616
Females	3,432,042
Excess of males	39,574
Negro population of urban districts	3,559,473
Males	1,737,820
Females	1,821,653
Excess of females	83,833

The large percentage of negroes living in rural districts is not unexpected when it is known that the black belt is predominantly rural. The balance between the sexes of the negro race is approximately even. Since the restriction of immigration became effective, large numbers of negroes have been migrating to the Northern cities. This may give rise to grave social problems, but we have not enough information as yet to enable us to comment intelligently upon them.

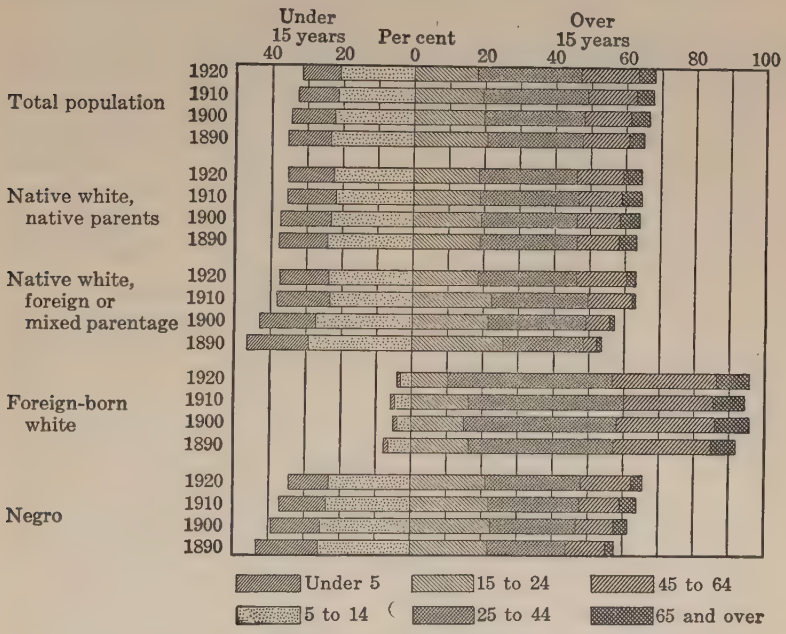
Factors determining distribution of sex. The equal number of males and females is one of nature's peculiar phenomena. The entire population of the world has not been enumerated as to sex, but somewhat over half of the estimated number of inhabitants is known. The result shows a slight average excess of male over female births, but the risks run by boys and men shorten their careers, and the disparity in numbers between sexes is never very great, unless other factors enter. The distribution of sex in any country is largely determined by whether or not the country is old or new. If it is an old part of the world, there is always a chance that the younger people will emigrate and seek homes in new regions, where they are the immigrants. Thus emigration affects population in an old country, and immigration operates similarly in a newly discovered territory. In the newer countries, such as the United States, Australia, Canada, and South Africa, where immigration has been comparatively large, the number of males is considerably greater than the number of females. After any great war the excess of females is general.

The factors operating in old and new countries are often seen working within the same country. Within the United States we find a great variation between the older Eastern states and the newer Western states. There is an excess of females in many New England sections and in the East in general, and the number of males is greater in the western part of the country, where men have frequently preceded the women as pioneers. Montana has 120.5 males to 100 females, Wyoming has 131.3, and Nevada 148.4. Another reason why women do not go to the Far West is the nature of work available. In the states mentioned, mining, lumbering, and ranching afford the greatest opportunities for employment, and these opportunities are not ordinarily open to women. The industrial centers of the East, however, offer employment to thousands of women.

The disparity of the sexes changes from time to time. In 1910, we have seen, the ratio was 106 men to 100 women for the country as a whole, and in 1920 the ratio was 104 to 100. This decrease in the excess of males may have resulted from two causes; first, the number killed in the war, and, secondly, the large number of foreigners who returned to their native land to defend the colors. Immigration is now restricted; otherwise it is safe to say that the number of foreign males would soon have made up this falling off among the men. In 1910 there were 101.7 males to 100 females in the cities, and 109.8 to 100 in the country. There is a slight difference here also in 1920, the ratio having decreased in the country to 108 males for 100 females; in the city, to 100.4 males to 100 females. The greater the disparity between sexes, the more complex the social problem becomes.

Suffrage. Lack of uniformity in the state laws makes it impossible to obtain the actual voting strength. There are in the United States, according to the 1920 census, 31,403,370 males over twenty-one years of age, and 29,483,150 females. Thus we note that the male voting strength exceeds that of the women by 1,920,220. Whether this will ever affect the political alignment is questionable, and only the speculative philosopher finds anything in this question to worry about.

The age distribution of population. The point of view and the attitude of the individual are likely to change at different age periods. Consequently, a population that contains a large proportion of young men and women is likely to differ in its points of view and its attitudes from a population made up largely of elderly people, even though the two populations are



DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY AGE PERIODS, 1890–1920

of the same race and nationality and show the same distribution as between the sexes. It is important, therefore, if one would understand the rural population or the differences between urban and rural populations, that one should know something about the distribution among the different age periods. The population with a high or increasing birth rate will show larger proportions in the lower age periods than a population with a low or decreasing birth rate, and vice versa. A study of the foregoing graph is enlightening in this connection.

Aside from the death rate and the birth rate, there are three other important causes affecting the average age of the population, namely, wars, emigration, and immigration. Each one in turn is more or less obvious, and the explanation of each will follow in this discussion. The graph on page 89, from Census Monograph I, 1920, p. 140, shows by racial groups the percentage of our population above and below fifteen years of age.

A comparison of age distribution on the basis of 100 has been made, and the difference between urban and rural communities is shown in the tabulation for 1910 which follows: [1]

	Rural Communities	Urban Communities
Persons under 15 years	36.2 per cent	27.3 per cent
Persons from 15 to 44	44.9 per cent	53.3 per cent
Persons 45 and over	18.7 per cent	19.2 per cent

There are two reasons why there are more persons per hundred under fifteen in the country than in the city. The first is the greater percentage of births in the country as compared with the city, and the second is that the young folks who move from country to city do not usually go until they are old enough and strong enough to do a full-grown person's work, that is, until after fifteen. The latter fact helps to explain the excess of persons in cities between fifteen and forty-four. In this age period there are a great number of young people in the city who have migrated from the country. But it is interesting to note how close the numbers approach each other in the age period from forty-five and upward.

This undoubtedly has some bearing on the greater relative prosperity of cities as compared with the country. Cities have a larger proportion of people in the middle period of life when their productivity is greatest; or, to put it in another way, there are fewer people to be supported by each person of breadwinning age in the city than in the country. Some have also suggested that this should result in greater conservatism in the

[1] United States Statistical Abstract, Thirteenth Census, p. 129. Quoted in Gillette's "Rural Sociology," p. 99.

country than in the city, on the a priori ground that extreme youth and old age are both conservative periods. There is not much force to this suggestion, however, when we consider the fact that in this country there is no evidence to show that rural people are more conservative than urban people. In fact, it sometimes seems as though the farmer vote were more radical — certainly more intelligently radical — than the city vote.

Marital condition. The points of view and the attitudes of the married and the unmarried are likely to differ in many particulars. In other words, a community in which a large proportion of adults are still living in a condition of celibacy is likely to differ in some important particulars from a community in which there are relatively few celibates. A complete understanding of rural people is therefore impossible without some knowledge of their marital condition.

The distribution of marriages affects the social life of any community, and the difference between rural and urban centers is worth noting. In rural districts 59.5 males per hundred and 64.3 females per hundred are married. In urban communities there is no considerable difference; 58.9 males per hundred and 57.6 females per hundred are married. One principal reason for this variation is probably the need of a man on the farm to have someone prepare his meals. In town a person can easily board out or eat at restaurants. The city dweller is able to find recreation in the theaters and in the dance halls, whereas the farmer's time is too valuable during the rush season to be wasted in seeking amusement or satisfying his social inclinations. He proceeds along the road to social stability by entering early upon married life. In some sections of the country excessively early marriages are not uncommon, especially in the cotton-raising section of Oklahoma and Texas, where wives and mothers of fifteen and sixteen years are sometimes met with.

If we confine our attention to persons of marriageable age, we find that in rural districts single persons of marriageable age among both sexes are considerably fewer per hundred than in urban sections. The numbers for the rural group are 34.7 males and 25.2 females per hundred, whereas in the urban group there

are 35.5 males and 29 females per hundred. The reason for the low percentage of unmarried women of marriageable age in the country is probably the social conditions, which do not provide many special opportunities for the country girl to make a living in any other way than by becoming the wife of a farmer. The city, on the other hand, provides abundant opportunities for young girls to make a living, and they are not slow to grasp them. Country girls who do not marry early are likely to go to town.

The high cost of living in the urban centers also militates against early marriages, because the average man's earning capacity is not sufficient to support a wife and himself until he is considerably older than the man on the farm when he is in a position to marry. Both of these factors operate in making the country birth rate 30.4, whereas it was seen that the city birth rate was 25.2. Biologically, younger people are more prolific than older people, and they have a longer time for rearing a family. Besides, children on farms can begin to be an asset rather than a liability at a somewhat earlier age than in cities; that is, they can begin to earn a living by helping their parents. All these facts help to explain the larger number of births in the country.

These facts may also have a bearing on the lower divorce rate in the country than in the city. The members of the rural family usually have more interests in common than members of the urban family. All are engaged in a common enterprise, whereas in the city, if several members of the family are engaged in money-making occupations, the occupations are likely to be entirely different ones.

Prostitution is also more common in the city than in the country, for similar reasons. Wherever there is a large proportion of unmarried people the statistics usually show a large percentage of commercialized vice.

Decreasing the number of agricultural workers. The total number of persons ten years of age and over engaged in gainful occupations, as classified by the census of 1920 (Vol. IV, p. 34), are as follows:

Both Sexes	1920	Percentage	1910	Percentage
All occupations	*41,614,248*	*100.0*	*38,167,336*	*100.0*
Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry	10,953,158	26.3	12,659,082	33.2
Extraction of minerals	1,090,223	2.6	965,169	2.5
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	12,818,524	30.8	10,628,731	27.8
Transportation	3,063,582	7.4	2,637,420	6.9
Trade	4,242,979	10.2	3,614,670	9.5
Public service (not elsewhere classified)	770,460	1.9	459,291	1.2
Professional service	2,143,889	5.2	1,693,361	4.4
Domestic and personal service	3,404,892	8.2	3,772,559	9.9
Clerical occupations	3,126,541	7.5	1,737,053	4.6

The total number of workers in 1920 showed an increase of 3,446,912 as compared with 1910. Analyzing the various occupations, it is important to notice the decrease in agricultural workers. In 1920 there were 10,953,158 classified as engaged in agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry, and in 1910 there were 12,659,082 classified as so employed. The decrease of 1,705,924 is regarded as too large, and has been ascribed to the changing of the date of taking the census from April 15 to January 1. This change undoubtedly did result in the returning of a smaller number of agricultural workers by the census enumerators than would have been returned if the census had been taken April 15, as it was in 1910. It is reasonably certain that this decrease was partly due to an underenumeration in 1920. Other factors, however, were probably at work. Many farmers became accustomed to the use of labor-saving machinery during the war, and as a consequence fewer hired men are needed today than were needed formerly. Besides, the restriction of immigration has created a scarcity of laborers in the cities. This scarcity is partially relieved by an accelerated migration from the farms.

Many of our leading industries underwent drastic changes as a result of the World War. To meet the war needs, new industries sprang into existence; and some existing industries, because not needed to further the war efforts of the nation,

rapidly declined in importance. The occupational activities of the people changed along with the industrial readjustments. Large numbers of women who had not previously been engaged in gainful or money-receiving occupations were drawn into industry. Many of them have remained since the war to fill places that would have been taken by immigrants if immigration had not been restricted.

While the census of 1920 was the first to show an absolute decline in the numbers engaged in agriculture, yet the relative decline in the number of farm workers had been going on before 1910. There were fewer farmers in 1910 *in proportion to the population* than in any of the three previous censuses, and the large decrease in the 1920 census only accentuated a movement that was already in progress. It is not necessarily a bad omen that the rural population is decreasing. By means of improved farm machinery it is possible, in our times, for fewer people to sustain larger urban groups than ever before in the history of the world. There has been a corresponding increase in the efficiency of the smaller number of ruralists who support the larger number of urbanists. In spite of the relative decline in the number of farm producers the country is still suffering from overproduction rather than from a scarcity of farm crops. This superior efficiency, however, is largely the result of superior equipment rather than of superior skill.

Overproduction a limiting factor. The rate of increase in population affects the general growth and progress of countries because the population element is, after all, the most important factor in the development of states and nations. It is of special interest to the rural sociologist in this country because we are still suffering, and shall continue for many decades to suffer, from the overproduction of farm crops. In short, our rural life will probably suffer from this cause until our urban population more than doubles. Even then the nation will scarcely be able to consume what our farmers can produce. Between 1790 and 1860 our population increased about one third at each census; between 1860 and 1890 it increased about one fourth; between 1890 and 1910 it increased about one fifth at each

census; and between 1910 and 1920 it increased a little more than one seventh. It must be noted, however, that while the *percentage* of increase has been declining, the actual increase in numbers has shown no such falling off. Comparing our population with that of other countries, it is pertinent to observe that ours increased 22.6 per cent from 1900 to 1910, England's increased 10.5 per cent from 1901 to 1911, that of France increased 1.6 per cent in the same years, and Germany's increased 15.2 per cent during the same period. Race regenerationists will argue that numbers alone do not count, that quality and mental fiber are more desirable than numbers; and they will vigorously contend that eventually the soil will not sustain the present rate of increase, and that, when food runs short, numbers will be a detriment. When that time comes, the nation with the greatest increase will be handicapped in the intense struggle for existence. The answer to those who maintain that quality and not quantity will count is that if high quality means high average productivity, a people of high quality can amply support large numbers. So far, at least, the Occidental countries have experienced no serious inconveniences regarding food supply. Since the world is still in a very unstable condition, it may be well for a country like ours not willfully to restrain its birth rate, except among the less competent, but rather to increase its birth rate among producers of high quality.

The westward drift of the people and the exceptional industrial development of certain regions of the West account for the much greater increase in the Pacific and Mountain states after 1850. Iowa, a distinctly rural state, showed a decrease of population in 1910. The speculative land boom striking the same section in 1919 proved very disturbing. Many of the former owners sold their land for high prices, — between $200 and $500 an acre, — and then moved to other states where land was cheaper. The change in 1920 is not as noticeable as the figures of the previous census show. But speculation in land affected the North Central group of states.

Density of population. One of the most important questions with respect to population is that of density. In a dense popu-

lation the average individual has many contacts with other individuals. Through the power of suggestion his behavior is largely determined by this fact. Consequently, in dense populations we have the phenomena of mob action in more or less constant or permanent form. People in dense populations behave more nearly like the traditional herd of sheep than people in sparse populations. This, however, is partly offset by the fact that they become somewhat hardened to the crowded life, whereas people who lack this hardening are likely to respond more violently to mob impulses when they happen to be thrown together. If, by accident, a large number of backwoodsmen should be brought together at the same time and place, they would prove much more susceptible to mob impulses or to the excitation of demagogic appeals than the more or less blasé urbanists. The mob behavior of the urbanist is more likely to show itself in the form of regularly recurring fashions, religious ceremonials and ritual, standardized opinion, the sense of good form, the inhibition of straw hats after September 15, prescribed habits as to shaving and hair-cutting, etc. rather than in the more or less frenzied behavior of the occasional rural mob.

A new type of social investigation is very much needed, though it will require the coöperation of many workers, supported by ample endowment, to make it. There should be an actual enumeration of the average number of daily contacts with other persons by average urbanists as compared with ruralists. These contacts should also be classified on the basis of their relative directness or intensity. Such a classification would give us much more information than we now have about the source of whatever differences exist in the behavior of urbanists and ruralists.

The census of 1910 is preferred in making this comparison because the late war affected the distribution of population in other countries more than in the United States. At the time the Thirteenth Census was taken there were 3.1 people per square mile in the Mountain division, 193.2 in the Middle Atlantic division, 508.5 in Rhode Island, and the average for

the United States was 35.5, as against 701.3 in England and 185.2 in France. The average number of acres per inhabitant has been reduced from 30.2 acres in 1890 to 25 acres in 1900, and to 20.7 in 1910. If we were to divide the land in the United States among all the people, each one would receive a farm of 18 acres, according to the census of 1920.

Population as affected by natural features. Mankind has always sought first river valleys or seacoast regions; at least it is there that we first find the densest populations. After the colonial period of American history the stream of immigrants and the people from the seacoast towns poured over the mountains into the rich and fertile country beyond, until today extensive elevated land areas have become populated, and the movement is still toward regions of higher altitude.

Effect of rainfall on population. We have already spoken of the important part rainfall plays in the development of nations. Population is limited by food, and food is limited by moisture. Populations, therefore, concentrate in regions of ample rainfall, — at least where the rainfall assures favorable crops. The average rainfall in the United States is 29.6 inches a year. There are parts that have almost none, whereas other places have as much as 125 inches. It is estimated that about three fourths of the people live in regions where the precipitation is between 30 and 50 inches, and here the population is most thickly settled. These are the limits most favorable to food production. The soil is also capable of providing the greatest amount of raw material in the same regions. As the rainfall exceeds 50 inches or falls below 30 the population diminishes. The arid regions of the West show this. These regions constitute about two fifths of the country's area, and contain only about one thirty-third of the total population.

Effect of temperature on population. The average temperature in the United States is 53 degrees Fahrenheit, and of course the greater part of the people live within regions whose temperature approaches this. It was noted in Chapter III that temperature and the growing season set a limit to man's habitation, and so we find about three fifths of the people of this country living in

regions having an average temperature between 45 and 55 degrees. However, the average temperature is of less importance than the length of the season between frosts. About 1 per cent of the inhabitants of the United States live where the temperature averages 70 degrees, and they supply the materials without which the rest of us would not be willing to get along. Thus the wide expanse of the country and the wide variations in temperature aid materially in making the United States a country of varied resources.

Center of population. The movement of the center of population of the United States is a phenomenon worth noting. The center of population has moved almost directly westward from Baltimore since 1790, when the first census was taken. It has practically followed the 39th parallel and has moved westward 566.8 miles, making an average of 46 miles each decade up to 1910; but the movement has been considerably slower the last ten years, amounting to only 9.8 miles. The center of population in 1920 was in southwestern Indiana, in Owen County, 1.9 miles west of Whitehall, Clay township, and 8.3 miles south southeast of Spencer, Washington township. The center of population is that point which could be reached with the minimum aggregate travel, if all the people of the United States were to travel in direct lines to this one point. Hence any individual would affect this center in direct proportion to his distance from it. In no other decade has the movement been so slow as in the last ten years, when it amounted to less than one fourth of that between 1900 and 1910. The center of population should not be confused with the center of area of the United States, which is in the northern part of Kansas, near the Nebraska border, and midway between the eastern and western boundaries of the state. This point is 647 miles west and 51 miles north of the center of population.

The foreign-born population. A strong desire to concentrate in certain parts of the United States is evidenced by some of our immigrants. The Austrians, Hungarians, Russians, and Italians concentrate in New York State and Pennsylvania; the Irish, in New York City and Boston. The Welsh live in Penn-

sylvania; the Norwegians and Swedes, in Minnesota. It should also be borne in mind that there are groups in every state who have remained practically distinct. There are those who contend that settlements on nationalistic lines prove detrimental to national growth and hinder the development of the American spirit. It was found, however, that the majority of our citizens of foreign birth proved loyal Americans when put to the test by the World War.

COUNTRIES RANKED ACCORDING TO NUMBER CONTRIBUTED TO FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AS ENUMERATED IN SPECIFIED CENSUS YEARS 1920, 1910, AND 1900

Rank, 1920	Rank, 1910	Rank, 1900
1. Germany	1. Germany	1. Germany
2. Italy	2. Russia	2. Ireland
3. Russia	3. Ireland	3. Canada
4. Poland	4. Italy	4. England
5. Canada	5. Canada	5. Sweden
6. Ireland	6. Austria	6. Russia
7. England	7. England	7. Austria
8. Sweden	8. Sweden	8. Italy
9. Austria	9. Hungary	9. Norway
10. Mexico	10. Norway	10. Scotland

Another characteristic of the foreign-born is the inclination to gather in urban communities. This characteristic was not so conspicuous among the first settlers, who sought the newly discovered country in the West, where they laid the foundation for subsequent growth. The later comers, however, tend to concentrate in cities, not necessarily because they prefer city life but probably because they now find better economic opportunities there than in the country. The same economic forces that seem to drive country youths cityward divert the immigrant toward the city. He, like the native-born, crowds the cities until three fourths of the immigrant population live in urban centers. The high land values, expensive farm equipment, and unfamiliarity with the American methods of farming frighten him, and he needs ready cash to pay his way because, as a rule, he arrives empty-handed. The city alone is open to him, and the path offering the least resistance is chosen.

This tendency to concentrate in cities is even more pronounced among those nationalities that have contributed the largest number of recent immigrants than among those nationalities that came earlier. The two races that showed the greatest increase between 1910 and 1920 are the Italians and the Russians.

The tendency of these two races toward urban life is very marked. In the State of New York, for example, of the 545,000 Italians present in 1920, over 440,000, or 81 per cent, were in cities having 100,000 inhabitants or more. New York City alone contained 72 per cent of all the Italians in the state. The Russians show an even greater tendency to concentrate in cities than the Italians, nearly nine tenths of the Russians in 1920 being massed in urban communities.[1]

Races in the United States. The total population of the United States may be divided as follows. About nine tenths are white and one tenth negro, and the other races constitute a little over four tenths of 1 per cent. The negro population has increased less rapidly than the white, and from 1900 to 1920 the whites have increased about 50 per cent faster than the negro, probably because of immigration from Europe. The negro has lived in the Southern states principally, where that race constitutes almost one third of the population. In two states, South Carolina and Mississippi, more than half of the people are negroes. In 17 of the 32 Northern and Western states less than 1 per cent of the total population are negroes. Since the restriction of immigration negro laborers have been migrating northward in considerable numbers to supply the deficit in manual laborers.

The term "white" as used in the census reports refers to persons understood to be pure-blooded whites. A person of mixed blood is classified according to the non-white racial strain, or if the non-white blood itself is mixed, according to his racial status as adjudged by the community in which he resides.

Thus, a person of mixed Indian and white descent, or of mixed white and negro descent, is classified as an Indian or a negro, as the case may be, regardless of the amount of white blood; and a person of mixed Indian and negro blood, or of mixed white, Indian, and negro blood, is classified either as an Indian or as a negro, according to the racial status in the community in which he lives.[2]

[1] Census Monograph I, 1910–1920, p. 116. [2] Fourteenth Census, Vol. III, p. 10.

According to the census of 1920 the population other than white or negro within the continental bounds of the United States is as follows:

Indians	244,437
Japanese	111,010
Chinese	61,639
Filipinos	5,603
Hindus	2,507
Koreans	1,224
Hawaiians	110

Where two distinct races that do not amalgamate live and mingle in the same rural territory there is a definite interference with the development of social life. One of the great difficulties with social life in the country is the sparseness of the population as compared with the cities. Neighbors are too far apart to enjoy the maximum of sociability. Where even such neighbors as there are belong to two races that do not amalgamate or cannot enjoy a common social or neighborhood life, the isolation of each individual is practically double. Neighborhood enterprises must be carried through by one race or the other without much mutual helpfulness or teamwork.

There is, of course, always a tendency for them to separate geographically. If members of the race that holds a lower social status begin to settle in a given neighborhood, that neighborhood becomes less attractive to the members of the other races, and they tend to move out, leaving the neighborhood to the members of the so-called inferior race. This tends toward geographical separation of the races. Of course, if the members of the two races follow different occupations, territorial separation is less likely to take place, but occupational separation answers much the same purpose. If, for example, the members of one race will work as wage-earners for the members of the other race, the necessities of that situation require them to live in the same neighborhood, but occupational separation remedies the element of competition. One race accepts definitely a lower social and economic status than does the other.[1]

[1] See Chapter III, p. 68.

Families, dwellings, and homes. According to the census, there is a distinction between a dwelling, a home, and a family. Most persons think of a home, a dwelling, and a family in the same terms, whereas a clear understanding is required to distinguish one from the other. A home is usually understood to be the abode of a family. A dwelling most commonly denotes a habitation or an abode which may be owned, leased, or rented. A family is a collective body of persons living in one house, and under one head, or descended from one common progenitor. In 1920 there were 20,697,204 dwellings in the United States and 24,351,676 families, classified according to these definitions. The fact that the number of owners of farms is greater than the number of home-owners in urban centers may have a greater social significance than is usually ascribed to it. There were 43.7 per cent of rented homes in the country, and 61.5 per cent of rented dwellings in the cities in 1920. An owner is often more interested in his property than a renter, and the upkeep of individually owned estates is commonly better. Ownership also lends itself to permanency of habitation, and permanent groups generally are more desirable in the building up of the community spirit than transients. It would seem, then, that the rural inhabitants have an advantage in this respect, but the rapidity with which tenancy is increasing in rural districts is disturbing, to say the least.

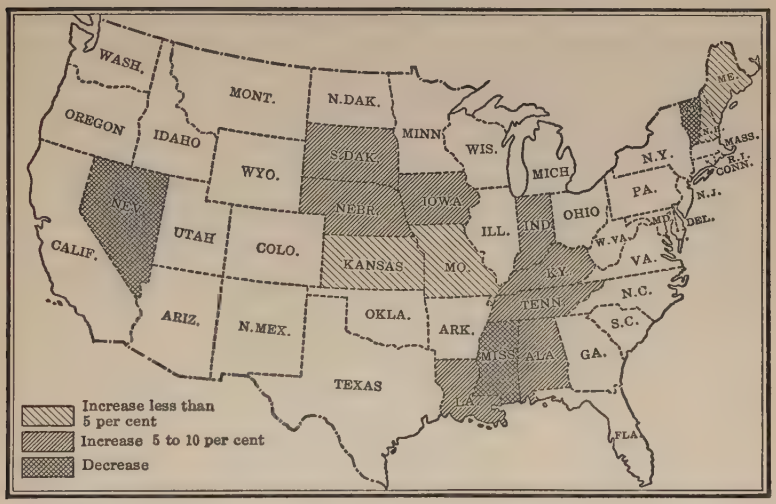
Rural depopulation. The nation as a whole continues to gain in rural inhabitants, but not so rapidly as it gains urban people. Besides, the gains in rural population are not only small but growing smaller. Certain sections — New England and the northeastern section of the Central states — actually lost in the number of rural inhabitants between 1910 and 1920. The Middle Atlantic section also lost in the decade from 1910 to 1920.

The following maps from Census Monograph I, 1920, pp. 32 and 33, show the increase or decrease in total population by states between 1910 and 1920.

As to rural losses, the census of 1920 shows losses in eighteen states. This fact may seem insignificant in itself, but when

states like New York, Indiana, and Iowa, where agriculture is a flourishing industry, show a decrease of from 20 to 30 per cent, the fact becomes important.

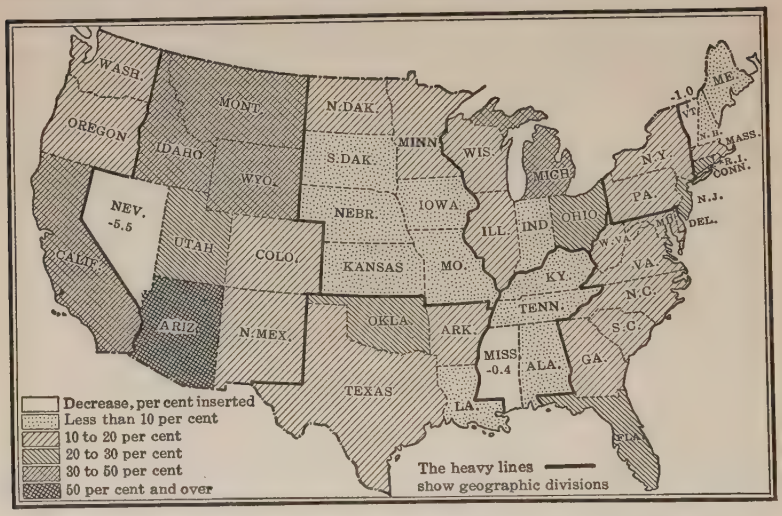
Estimates of the present population. The census is taken every ten years, but many other statistics are collected every year. The Bureau of the Census is directed by Congress to make an estimate of the population during the intervening



RATE OF INCREASE OR DECREASE IN TOTAL POPULATION, BY STATES, 1910–1920

years. These estimates are based upon city records, postmasters' receipts, annexed territory, and the average growth of previous years. The best authorities agree that at the present time the average increase of population in the United States is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent a year. The increase of the last decade will bear out this contention very closely, the population of the forty-eight states having advanced from 91,000,000 to 105,000,000 during this period. At the same rate in 1930 there will be approximately 121,000,000 people, aside from the insular possessions which, if included, would make approximately 134,000,000 total inhabitants under the jurisdiction of the United States.

All other population problems pale into insignificance in comparison with the great problem of maintaining the quality of the rural population. Urban populations, we have seen, are increased and largely maintained by migrants from the rural districts. If the quality of this stream of people from the rural districts should deteriorate, the cities as well as the country as a whole would suffer, and even urban civilization would decline.



STATES WHICH INCREASED SLIGHTLY IN POPULATION, OR DECREASED, 1910–1920

Civilizations are built by reason of the fact that the people choose to spend their energy, or, under a money economy, their money, to hire energy to accomplish other things than the gratification of material appetites. When there are no longer any people who care for the "fruit of the Spirit" (that is, for the fine arts, for the advancement of science, and for other intellectual achievements), there will no longer be any such products. The very maintenance of the present level of civilization depends upon the preservation of people who care enough about the elements of civilization to be willing to pay the price.

It is a matter of common observation that the intellectual classes of the cities multiply at a very slow rate, and the non-

intellectual classes at a higher rate. Any farmer knows what will happen to his herd if he breeds mainly from those of low quality and very little, if at all, from those of high quality. Unless some change should come about before many generations, we are forced to the conclusion that no city population can maintain its present quality. It will be more and more dependent upon additions from the country. If this resource should fail, then our civilization is doomed.

Suppose it to be true that the best and most capable from the rural districts regularly move to town and are there sterilized, either by luxury or by sedentary habits, and that only the less intellectual remain in the country. In the course of time the rural population would run down in quality, and there would no longer be any individuals of high mentality from which the city populations could be recruited. If, on the other hand, the best individuals of the rural population remain in the country and bring up large families, and the poorest elements migrate to the cities, we shall at least preserve the quality of the rural population, whatever happens to the city population.

So long as agricultural enterprise furnishes satisfying careers to men and women of intellectual ability and constructive imagination, rural life will continue to hold at least its fair share of the best talent of our race. When it fails to furnish such careers, the best individuals will seek careers elsewhere. Thus, in the last analysis, the future of our country and of our civilization itself depends upon the opportunity furnished by rural life for satisfying careers. This is not only a problem for the rural sociologist and the agricultural statesman, but for all nation builders.

QUESTIONS

1. Why should anybody live in the country?

2. Is the development of agricultural machinery likely to be a means of improving rural life or is it more likely to be a means by which larger numbers may escape from rural life?

3. Just what is meant by the center of population in the United States? Are there any other meanings that might be given to it which would be of more significance than the one commonly given?

4. Suppose that one fourth of the rural population should leave the farms and go to the cities, and suppose that as a result of this the poorest 25 per cent of the farms were turned into grass or forest. How would the remaining rural population be affected?

5. Suppose it were true that the best rather than the poorest of the rural population emigrated to the cities, generation after generation and century after century. How would this ultimately affect (1) the character of the rural population; (2) the character of our entire civilization?

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CHAPTER V

HOW RURAL PEOPLE THINK

The nature of group characteristics. We shall see in this chapter that there is no wide gap separating all rural minds from all urban minds. Such differences as exist are of a superficial nature, and our opinions concerning them are based upon general impressions rather than upon accurate measurements. All differences between groups are of this nature. There is always some overlapping when you try to compare one group with another. If one were to say that Southern people were, as a rule, more hospitable than Northern, he would not mean that the least hospitable of Southerners was more hospitable than the most hospitable of Northerners. He would mean merely that the general average of hospitality was higher in the South than in the North, or that the curve representing the hospitality of Southern people was, on the whole, a little higher than the curve representing the hospitality of Northern people. This would be true of any statement comparing any two groups.

When, therefore, we speak of Eastern attitudes, Western tendencies, Northern propensities, and Southern predilections, etc., we do not mean that all Easterners differ from all Westerners, or anything of the kind. Individuals in the same neighborhood vary so widely that no one can state unerringly from what section a person happens to come, even though one might recognize, in a general way, an Eastern type or a Western type. In other words, there may be something that actually creates in the mind of the traveler and observer an impression of sectional differences. For some reason which may have a sound basis, observers have remarked that the New England farmer, the Northwestern grain farmer, the Southern cotton planter, the Western cattle rancher, and the fruit-grower of the Pacific states all differ from one another in point of view.

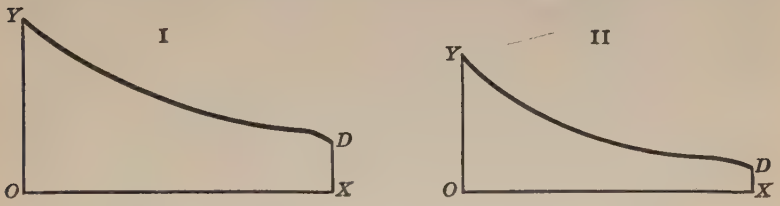
These general impressions of the casual observer are difficult to verify by statistical measurement. No one is yet equipped with sufficient statistical information or a sufficiently scientific statistical method either to verify or to refute such impressions, and yet they have a profound scientific validity. A most important psychological principle is involved here, which will justify a somewhat prolonged discussion.

Let us begin with a fairly simple case. It is the general impression that men are taller than women. Yet, if one undertook to count cases, unless he made a very thoroughgoing and searching investigation, he might not be able to verify that impression. In the first half-dozen cases measured he might find that some of the women were taller than some of the men. Even if he took every man and every woman in the United States and recorded the exact height of each, he would have to reduce the figures to an average before he could say that, as a rule, men are taller than women; and even then he would have to admit that the taller 50 per cent of the women were probably taller than the shorter 50 per cent of the men. In order to make the analysis complete, he would need to draw two diagrams somewhat like the ones shown on page 109.

In Diagram I let us imagine all the men arranged along the line OX in the order of height, the tallest at the end marked O and the shortest at the end marked X. If the tallest man is represented by the line OY and the shortest by the line DX, and all the others are ranged between them in the order of their height, some such curve as YD could then be said to represent the height of the men. Under similar conditions in Diagram II, the curve YD would represent the height of the women. Even the casual observer will gain the impression that the curve YD in Diagram I is higher than the corresponding curve in Diagram II. This general impression could not be improved without a thorough and accurate system of measurements. It is the contention of the authors that, entirely apart from these two diagrams, the average person's general impression that men are taller than women could not be improved upon without more elaborate and accurate measurements than any

person but the most highly trained statistician could carry through to prove his point.

This method of analysis can be applied to a great many different things. It is the general impression that men are a little more inclined toward mathematical and scientific studies than women, or that women are a little more inclined toward linguistic and literary studies than men; and yet in every college there will frequently be found a woman who outstrips all the men in mathematics and sciences, and men who outstrip all the women in linguistic and literary studies. These individual cases, however, in no way contradict or disprove the validity



of the general impression. No one could add anything to the validity of the impression or subtract anything from it without more accurate and complete information than even the average statistician possesses.

A similar observation can be made regarding differences between rural and urban people. There is a general impression that urban people are more urbane (to express it almost in the form of a truism) than rural people, but urbanity implies something more than the mere physical fact of living in town. It means giving more attention to rules of politeness, to the formalities and amenities of polite society, and making greater effort to create a favorable impression upon those with whom one comes in contact, than is the case with those who lack urbanity. And yet there are multitudinous examples of churlishness among people who live in town, and of politeness and good breeding among people who live in the country. The citation of individual facts of this kind in no way contradicts or disproves the validity of the general impression as to the difference between urban and rural people, any more than the

citation of the fact that Mrs. Jones is taller than her husband disproves the general impression that men are taller than women.

Uniformity and variability. Sociology, like every science, is based upon observed uniformities. Uniformities, however, are not identities. In the field of heredity, to choose a single example, there is a certain tendency for offspring to resemble their parents, at least so far as broad characteristics are concerned. The child of two human parents is at least human and not equine or bovine. Moreover, the child of two white human beings is at least white and not black, yellow, brown, or red. Again, the child of two blond white parents is more likely to be blond than brunette; the child of two rufous parents is more likely to be rufous than blond or brunette.

Yet no child is ever the exact copy of its parents, nor are two children of the same parents ever exactly alike. In the general resemblance of children to parents, and of children of the same parents to one another, we get one of those uniformities that are sometimes called natural laws. If there were no such uniformities, science would be impossible. If you could not tell in advance whether thorn trees would bear figs, whether apple trees would produce apples, cherries, figs, or pumpkins, there would not be a science of botany; or, if there were such a science, it would be very different from the present science of botany. If you never could predict whether the progeny of a pair of horses would be colts, calves, pigs, or mice, and that were generally true of the progeny of all creatures, zoölogists, if there were any, would have a more puzzling subject than they now have. Within limits more or less wide we can actually predict the general result of the reproductive process. The uniformity that enables us to do so is heredity. Without such uniformities, as stated above, there would be no science.

Yet the fact of variability is just as patent and almost as important as the fact of uniformity. Even heredity is not exact. At least, no one can find out enough about heredity to predict *exactly and in every particular* what the child of any two parents will be like.

Similar responses to the same stimuli. The case of heredity was chosen for the purpose of making clear a similar principle in the case of social psychology. Here also we find certain broad uniformities along with multitudinous variations. One of these uniformities is the observation that, in a general way, all persons respond similarly to the same external stimuli. If it were not for such observed uniformities as this, no scientific knowledge of sociology would be possible. Yet the sociologist who relies wholly upon his perception of such general uniformities, and does not recognize the equally patent fact of variability, will reach some conclusions that are both false and dangerous. While, in a general way, all men respond similarly to the same stimuli, in a more minute sense no two men ever react in exactly the same way. There is a general resemblance between their reactions to the same stimulus as there is between the children of the same parents, but there are also differences between their reactions as there are between children of the same parents.

Human nature. Because of our observation of certain general resemblances in the behavior of individuals, we can talk intelligently about "human nature," the "social mind," etc. But our discussions of such things would not be very intelligent if we assumed that these resemblances were exact or if we did not make enough allowance for variability. If, however, we compare one large group with another (country people with city people, for example), the law of averages will tend to neutralize individual variations. But when one presumes to say that all individuals in the same group will react in exactly the same way to the same stimulus, such as the fear of punishment, the promise of interest on savings, or anything else, he is obviously speaking without intelligence.

Every problem made up of many factors. On the basis of the general assumption that all persons respond in the same general way to the same external stimuli, and our general use of such terms as "human nature" and the "social mind," we sometimes discuss social problems as though they were problems of one factor alone. But they are problems of many

factors, and, like every problem of two or more factors, they sometimes present difficulties. We also speak of "individuality" and the "personal equation," which mean that every individual possesses a certain degree of uniqueness as well as certain broad resemblances to other individuals. To determine the limits of variability and also the curve of variability within these limits is absolutely necessary to the solution of any problem where individual reactions are involved. Is punishment, for example, a deterrent to crime? If we study actual criminals we are obviously studying individuals who were not deterred by the fear of punishment, as shown by the fact that they actually committed crime. To conclude from this that the fear of punishment deters no one from committing crime would be a characteristic error. Such a conclusion is based upon the assumption that all men react in precisely the same way to the same external stimuli. If this assumption were balanced by the recognition of individual differences, it would lead to the conclusion that the fear of punishment may deter one and not another. Similarly, if one were to say that the hope of interest on money saved is necessary to induce men to save, it would not be strictly true. However, one can find cases where money is saved primarily for the hope of interest. On the assumption of absolute uniformity in human behavior, one would naturally conclude that everyone behaved in the same way and for the same reasons, in the saving of money. Observation shows, however, considerable variations. Some individuals will save money whether there is any possibility of receiving interest or not. Others are so thriftless that no reasonable rate of interest would be sufficient to induce them to save. On the other hand, to say that the hope of receiving interest is not an inducement to saving is to fall into the same error. One can find individuals who are not moved perceptibly by any such motive. One who makes this discovery and then assumes that all men are alike would very naturally conclude that interest is never a stimulus to thrift and saving.

Less difference between groups than between individuals. However, there are some problems that concern themselves, not with

individual reactions, but with the combined reactions of masses of men. If one wishes to compare the behavior of one mass with that of another, one does not need to consider these individual variations so carefully. The fact that individuals differ from one another would not be sufficient reason for saying that the mass of blacksmiths behave differently from the mass of carpenters, though in all probability any individual blacksmith and any individual carpenter who happened to meet would behave differently. Similarly, when we are speaking of country people in general, or city people in general, we may ignore individual differences. The number of each group is large enough to enable us to average them. If we compare the resulting average of country people with that of city people, we shall find the two average very much alike so far as their human nature is concerned. Such differences as we observe will be due to differences of surroundings or of external stimuli.

Rural and urban mental attitudes. Because of these differences in external conditions the mental attitude of city people and country people can never be the same on all questions. Their contacts are different, and this leads to different experiences. These tend to form different habits of thought, which, in turn, tend to become crystallized into reflex mental actions. Such misunderstandings between urban and rural communities as occur must be traced to this source. Since mental reactions of large groups depend chiefly upon the external stimuli, the rural social mind will be dependent upon the stimuli to be found in rural communities. We may summarize by saying that while no two country men will ever behave exactly alike, nor will two city men, nevertheless it is safe to assume that the mass of country men would, if placed under the same circumstances, behave very much as the mass of city men do under those circumstances.

Moral standards. It is generally assumed that moral standards are higher in country districts, or, at least, that they are different. People in the country live close to nature, and they prosper, not by politeness or ingratiating manners, but by rigid conformity to natural conditions. City dwellers are somewhat

further removed from nature, and depend for their incomes upon their ability to deal successfully with other men. The opportunities for the former to succeed by tricks are few, but the latter frequently depend upon their capacity to ingratiate themselves into the favor of their fellows. This difference leads to a misunderstanding between the two groups, the farmer assuming a moral rectitude far superior to that of the city man, whom he regards as a schemer. The city man, in turn, sees only churlishness, prejudice, and suspicion as dominating characteristics in the rural man. Neither is right in his estimate of the other. This lack of mutual understanding and appreciation on the part of urban and rural people is a hindrance to effective coöperation. If there is any appreciable difference in moral integrity, it is probably the result of different points of view. Morality is very difficult to measure objectively.

Difference of social attitudes. In the past the social activities of the country people have been somewhat different from those of the city folks. The rural dweller came in contact with his immediate family and a few neighbors only, and his acquaintance was necessarily somewhat limited. The urban resident has had many acquaintances, but has scarcely known his many neighbors. The result is what might have been expected. City dwellers tend to group themselves according to class, occupational, or cultural lines; rural dwellers must perforce group themselves by neighborhoods, scarcely knowing the meaning of class except where class lines are based on race, color, or religion. To the rural dweller, space or distance is more important as a factor of separation than differences of occupation or culture.

The psychology of different groups as evidenced in the late war was so different that, at times, it seemed to threaten the safety of the country. The social differences between urban and rural people in many sections of the country became somewhat pronounced, but they were less pronounced than the differences among the occupational and class groups that had developed among urban people. These experiences, together with the disasters which overtake urban industry when farmers are im-

poverished or even dissatisfied, or when different labor groups fail to function, have led all constructive minds to seek the elimination of class consciousness. It is not difficult to see that there is a large unity of interest that should unite city people and country people as well as capitalists and laborers. Class feeling, wherever it exists, is very likely to obscure this unity of interest, or to overemphasize the conflicts of interest that also exist alongside of certain unities.

Religion and the rural mind. The rural social mind is affected by the religious life. One does not need to travel far afield to discover differences between the religious activities of the urban and the rural groups. This is probably a reflection of the general difference of mental attitude. This difference of mental attitude results from the influences that were mentioned in the two preceding paragraphs. The city is the natural habitat of the talker. The typical urbanist is a hawker of wares, — commercial, political, literary, religious, or social. Whoever has something to "sell" naturally goes where numbers congregate. Even religion is more a matter of outward expression and less a matter of inner experience in town than in the country. To be perpetually expressing oneself is called (by urbanists) being wide-awake; being quiet is called (by urbanists) being conservative or bromidic. Consequently the best talkers among the clergy go to town, as do the best auctioneers and politicians. A country church has difficulty in holding the most talkative preachers. Country churches are therefore dull, as a rule, except where a fiery zeal has developed under the spell of a new religious impulse or the magnetic personality of a great religious leader. Of course, many a young minister of religion serves his apprenticeship in the country, while he is young and inexperienced and because he does not possess the maturity to handle a city congregation successfully. Here he frequently does his best work; but when he has achieved a reputation, he is likely to go to the city. He may even be one of those whose desire it is to pursue knowledge for the sake of knowledge, whom we are accustomed to designate by the title of scholars, but he is the exception among country ministers.

In general, country churches are the victims of circumstances and in many instances are forced to accept what no one else wants. The city congregation, on the other hand, because of its numbers, has the means to procure the best in the way of church architecture, music, and eloquence. The men and women who supply the architecture, the music, and the eloquence are all attracted by a larger market and a larger opportunity, for the two generally go together. Consequently a mental type is unconsciously developed in the country which is different from that in the city. When the country man has grown up with the idea that country people must be content with what city people do not want, it is difficult for him to maintain that aggressive and optimistic mentality which is so essential to great achievement.

As already suggested, the density of urban population means numerous contacts among individuals. These contacts call for expression, or the transmission of ideas and feelings from one person to another. It is only under such conditions that the arts of expression can reach a high state of development. Expression, in its many forms, is really one of the specialties of the urban life. It shows itself in religion as in everything else. Religion tends to become expressive, not only verbally but artistically. Religious architecture, religious art, elaborate and beautiful ceremonials,— these are the natural product of urban religious life.

While religion in rural life lacks the expressiveness shown by urban religion, or at least expresses itself in less subtle, refined, and variegated forms, it ordinarily does not lack vociferousness. When it does express itself, it is likely to be in more primitive and soul-compelling form. As a matter of fact, it is doubtful if any great religious impulse ever started in a city. Practically all the great and moving religions of the world have started under conditions that are almost diametrically opposite to those of urban life. They are generally the product of isolation rather than of congestion. They originate where men ponder much and talk little rather than where men talk much and ponder little.

Peschel,[1] in his "Races of Man," quotes the old Arabian geographers as saying that all the great founders of religion, the philosophers, and the scholars originated between 19° and 33° 49′ north latitude. This zone begins a little to the south of the parallel of Mecca. However, he goes farther and points out that not only do the great religions originate in this zone, but they originate not in the great cities and centers of commerce and culture, but in the deserts, the sparsely settled rural districts, or the small and insignificant villages.

To quote from "The Zone of the Founders of Religion"[2]:

. . . Christianity did not make its appearance in the overrefined European empire of the Romans, but in Palestine. Islam came into existence six hundred years later, not in Byzantium, but in Arabia. . . .

. . . The three monotheistic doctrines, Judaism, Christianity, Islam, originated with the Semitic nations, yet the tendency of the race was not exclusively to monotheism; for other Semites, such as the Phœnicians, Chaldeans, and Assyrians, took other courses, while even among the Jews reversions to polytheism were frequent, and in Egypt especially the people of God sank completely into idolatry. . . .

All who have been in the desert extol its beneficent influence on the health and spirits. Aloys Sprenger declares that the air of the desert invigorated him more than that of the high Alps or of the Himalayas, and in a letter to the author he says: "The desert has impressed the Arabs with their remarkable historical character." . . .

. . . The confusion of the Egyptian pantheon, the beautiful images of stone, the sacred animals, the human figures with emblematic heads and symbols, were not forgotten by Moses, the priest of Heliopolis, until he fled to Sinai, the oldest rock known to geology, which, according to Oscar Fraas, is still uncovered by the smallest particle of any more recent formation, seeming as if it had never been submerged beneath the sea, had never risen up, never moved. Here in the wilderness it was necessary that the old Jewish race,

[1] See "The Races of Man," from the German of Oscar Peschel, pp. 314–318 (New York, 1894), cited by permission of D. Appleton and Company in T. N. Carver's "Sociology and Social Progress," p. 272 (Ginn and Company, 1905).

[2] Quoted, by permission, from Peschel's "Races of Man," published by D. Appleton and Company.

with its Egyptian paganism, should be buried, before monotheism as a result of the thoughts and sights of the desert, could rise and strengthen itself in a new race. In other parts of the Scriptures the healthy influence of the desert is likewise testified. The zealous Elijah retired into the desert; John the Baptist also preached in the desert of Jordan, clad as a Bedouin, in a raiment of camel's hair, and living on locusts and wild honey. Christ also prepared himself for his career by passing forty days and forty nights in the desert. Lastly, Mohammed, although born in a city, imbibed the milk of a Bedouin foster mother, lived for a long time as a shepherd, and in his caravan journeys crossed the deserts between his own country and Palestine. The pilgrimages to Mecca, although far more ancient than Islam, are of no little service in strengthening the faith, inasmuch as they are preceded by a journey across the desert. But even independently of this, the followers of the Prophet live in the vicinity of deserts, for the doctrine of Mohammed has spread almost exclusively in the zone of eastern monsoons, and only in very late times extended into Africa as far as the Sudan. In India it was unable to extend beyond very narrow limits, and that only with political assistance.

Aside from the initial impulse in the founding of a great religion, it may be said that many existing religions have found their most intense expression outside the centers of commerce and culture. The highland glens of Scotland, the bogs of Ireland, and the barren hills of New England have developed religious loyalties that could scarcely be matched in any city. Religious tendencies, in this country at least, had their origin in the back country. The great revivals of Jonathan Edwards and Charles G. Finney were, in a sense, frontier phenomena. Both Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, the two leading personalities in Mormonism, were natives of Vermont, but began their religious activities in western New York, which was then a distinctly backwoods section. The centers of their activity were later Kirtland, Ohio; what is now Independence, Missouri; Nauvoo, Illinois; and Salt Lake City,— all of them on the far frontier. Mary Baker Eddy, the founder of Christian Science, was a native of New Hampshire. John Humphrey Noyes, the leader of the Perfectionists of Oneida, was a Vermonter. The sweeping revivals of Methodism took place in

the back country near the frontier. Peter Cartwright, who, perhaps more than any other, was the embodiment of the revival spirit, was a Virginian by birth, but carried on his most active ministrations in Illinois when Illinois was a frontier state, and probably preached the first Protestant sermon in the territory of Iowa.

In his book entitled "History of American Socialisms," published in 1869, John Humphrey Noyes makes the following significant statements regarding western New York in the early half of the nineteenth century.

> Taking Rochester for a center, and a line of fifty miles for radius, we strike a circle that includes the birthplaces of nearly all the wonderful excitements of the last forty years. At Palmyra, in Wayne County, twenty-five miles east of Rochester, Joseph Smith in 1823 was visited by the angel Moroni, and instructed about the golden plates from which the book of Mormon was copied; and there he began the gathering which grew to be a nation and settled Utah. Batavia, about thirty miles west of Rochester, was the scene of Morgan's abduction in 1820; which event started the great anti-Masonic excitement that spread through the country and changed the politics of the nation. At Acadia, in Wayne County, adjoining Palmyra, the Fox family first heard the mysterious noises which were afterward known as the "Rochester rappings," and were the beginning of the miracles of modern Spiritualism. The Rochester region has also been famous for its revivals, and borders on what Hepworth Dixon has celebrated as the "Burnt District."

While rural people are not, as suggested above, hardened by the constant impact of the mob mind, and are therefore more susceptible to mob impulses when they do, on rare occasions, attack rural communities, and while this has had a profound influence on the development of religion as well as politics in rural communities, nevertheless rural community life in general is lacking in those standardized and orderly forms of religious expression that are commonly associated with urban life. If one chooses, therefore, to live in a rural community, he must definitely give up religious opportunities of certain kinds. There are also some good things that cannot possibly be had in crowded centers. The man or woman who decides to live in the

city definitely and permanently decides to live without those good things that can be had only in the country. There is no philosopher's stone that will tell us whether the things that can be had only in the city are worth more or worth less than the things that can be had only in the country. Not having any means of determining absolute values, men habitually decide these questions, as they decide all questions of fashion, whether in the field of millinery, politics, philosophy, or religion (for fashions prevail in all these fields), by the method of clamor. The voice of the city drowns out the voice of the country. That is, more people are talking about the advantages of town life (and they are talking louder) than are talking about the advantages of country life. This is enough to decide the average person in favor of the city. Even the city church gains over the country church for this reason.

Education and the rural mind. The rural social mind is somewhat handicapped by the inferior educational opportunities supplied by rural communities. The urban centers expend twice as much money per pupil per year as do rural sections. The average urban child attends school forty-three days more per year than does the rural child. The children in city schools have better teachers and superior equipment. In the past there has been little supervision, generally speaking, in rural schools. An inexperienced teacher received little help from her county superintendent, whose choice was often political, whose selection depended upon a popular vote at the general election, and who often had more than one hundred schools to visit. The school systems in the best urban communities commanded the best talent available. All the teachers, experienced as they were, had the guidance of the expert in his own specialized field. The country teachers were usually young and most of them taught but a year or two. If they remained in the work longer, the small town and the city needed them, and the successful ones went to town, got married, or did some other work instead of continuing as country school teachers. When they went they left room for the next crop of June graduates to try a hand at teaching the rural child.

The movement for the consolidation of country schools is helping to correct those evils of the past, but even now there are not many rural children who have as good schools within reach as are within easy reach of the average city child. The rural-school curriculum still fails to function perfectly and to correlate the content of courses with the actual experiences of the child in his rural environment. The textbooks are written usually, though not always, by urban experts, each in his special field. If this text is taught by a well-trained teacher, it is probable that she was trained in an urban atmosphere, often by other urban teachers. (At least this was true at one time, but a change for the better is already noticeable.) She was not to be blamed for her urban attitude, which she unconsciously imposed upon the rural child. But one result was that the child's life and all his experiences, contacts, and thoughts concerning the country apparently counted for little in the process of his education. A deliberate attempt is now being made to train rural teachers who will have a rural point of view and who will appreciate the educational possibilities of a rural environment.

It may be too much to expect of any teacher in this generation that she should fully appreciate the educational value of the experiences of the country child. None but a great prophet in the field of education can realize it. It is safe to say, however, that such a prophet is a great social need.

Rural illiteracy. There are thousands of schools in which the daily attendance is fewer than ten pupils. It requires a really great teacher to develop enthusiasm in such a school. Numbers stimulate. To these facts must be added another serious indictment of our general educational policy which permits 1,242,572 native white illiterates, or 2 per cent; 1,842,161 negroes, or 22.9 per cent; and 1,763,740 foreign-born whites, or 13.1 per cent, making a grand total of 4,931,905 persons more than ten years of age classified as illiterates by the Fourteenth Census of the United States. It must be borne in mind that this number is a part of the 82,739,315 persons ten years old and older, which makes an average of 6 per cent of this group. But the percentage is decreasing. In 1910 it was 7.7 per cent. There

was therefore a decrease of 1.7 per cent in ten years. In 1920 the urban illiterates were 1,955,112 and the rural were 2,976,793. Counting the native urban whites, 155,493, or 0.8 per cent, were illiterate, and 954,382 rural native whites, or 3.8 per cent, were illiterate. However, some of the North Central states that are predominantly rural showed a very low percentage of illiteracy.

Politics and the rural mind. Political associations determine to a considerable extent the rural mind. As a rule voters of agricultural communities are conservative. On an election night, when reports come in from different sections of the North, it will be found that the country districts have a Republican majority, and the urban centers a Democratic, though in the South the rural districts are Democratic. For example, New York, Boston, and often Chicago are almost regularly controlled by the Democrats, while the state and Federal officers are generally Republican. It is the rural people who constitute the strength of the Republican party in the North. Incidentally it may be remarked that the Democratic party in the South is conservative and in the North radical, whereas the Republican party in the North is conservative. Of course the terms "conservative" and "radical" have no relation with such terms as "progressive" and "reactionary." A conservative is quite as likely to be progressive as reactionary, and a radical to be reactionary as conservative. Outside of physical science and the mechanic arts nothing is new except that which has been forgotten. They who propose to go back to something which is so old as to have been forgotten naturally imagine that they are proposing something new, and are likely therefore to call themselves progressive, though they are, in fact, the most extreme reactionaries.

There occur, at times, rural uprisings that seem exceptional, such as the Peasant Revolt in Luther's time and the September Massacres in the French Revolution. The farmer is also likely to become radical during economic stress and financial pressure, as evidenced in the seventies, the eighties, and the nineties of the last century, and in the nonpartisan movement of the present century. But, by and large, the steadiness of the English

yeoman, the reliability of the French peasant, the tenacity of the minuteman, and the energy displayed by the Southern planter are historic examples of steadfastness of purpose seldom, if ever, surpassed by any urban group.

Economics and the rural mind. The rural social mind is greatly affected by economic relations. The factors of production converge in the farmer, who is landlord, capitalist, laborer, and manager in one person. In this respect no tiller of the soil in the Old World can be compared to the American head of a rural family. His average capacity for large-scale production is unequaled, and in no old country do agricultural workers possess so large an investment in land and equipment as in the United States. Consequently he must be in possession of more than average intelligence in order to be able to manage successfully such large farm enterprises. In business capacity he may not be the equal, on the average, of those who manage the gigantic urban enterprises; but, as compared with those who do the manual work in cities, he apparently outranks them. Being both a business man and a manual worker, he occupies a middle position.

The fact that the average American farm is managed and worked by the same man has a profound reaction on our whole national life as well as upon our rural life. It means, first of all, that the head of the average rural household is his own employer. The opposite is true of the head of the average urban household. The ordinary urban business establishment is so large, and so many men are employed in it, that only a small minority can be said to be their own overseers or to be self-directed. The average urbanite is in the habit of working under orders from someone else; the average farmer is not. The habit of obedience on the one hand and the lack of it on the other creates a wide difference both in political and in economic organizations. On the political side they who are in the habit of working in large business and industrial organizations, taking their orders from someone higher up, easily fall into the habit of working under orders in politics; hence urban politics is characterized by great organizations, commonly called political machines.

They have little power in rural communities. The average rural worker has not acquired the habit of taking orders from anybody in his everyday life, and he does not easily fall into the habit of taking orders from anybody in his political activities.

There was a time in the Old World when the opposite was the case. In the days of handicrafts and small shops the urban worker was his own overseer and had not acquired the habit of working under orders. At that time cities were the centers of democratic life and activity. Certain superficial students of history have assumed that because at that time cities were the home of democracy, there was something inherent in the nature of city life that made for democracy. They do not see the deeper fact that it was not city life itself, but the fact that at that time city workers were their own masters, that made the difference. At that time rural work was organized under a feudal system. The average rural worker was not his own master, but always worked under someone higher up. At the present time that old system is completely reversed, at least in the New World. It is now the rural workers who, on the average, work for themselves and not for somebody else, and the urban workers who usually work under the direction of a foreman, superintendent, or employer. Consequently it is no longer true to say that the city is the home of democracy. The only pure democracy today, as formerly, is found where self-employed men are found,— that is, in the country as it was formerly in the city. In the cities we are more likely to find a kind of spurious democracy, boss-ridden and machine-dominated.

On the political side the cities present a rather dark picture and the country a much brighter picture. On the economic side, however, the case is somewhat different. The same habit of mind that makes the average city man pliant and easily dominated by machine politics also makes him easily organized for purely business or economic purposes,— at least more easily than the country man. The effectiveness with which labor unions are organized, and the general lack of business organizations among farmers, are explained by these fundamental facts. The same psychology that exists among the self-employed

country men and that makes them difficult to organize for purposes of machine politics also makes them difficult to organize for coöperative and other purely economic purposes. The same psychology which the average urbanite develops under the necessities of urban industrial life makes him not only easy to organize for political purposes — which is wholly bad — but also easy to organize for strictly business purposes, which are at least partly good. It would certainly be greatly to the advantage of farmers if they could organize their business activities more effectively, but they have not acquired the organizing habit, nor have they become pliable enough to be easily organized for any purpose, either good or bad.

Race and the rural mind. Race is a strong factor in determining mental reactions. The Latin people are known for their diplomacy and the capacity to overcome difficult situations by organized effort. The Roman is still recognized for his contribution to law and organization. The successors of the Roman tradition, especially since the days of Cavour, have evinced a desire to emulate their predecessors by attempts to reorganize Italy and to expand their territory. So, too, before the restriction of immigration, they came to our shores in increasing numbers, adding a peculiar mental tone to our social thought. The Italian prior to the World War was more of a transient than the other immigrants, often coming from his native land in the early spring and returning to his less rigorous clime to celebrate the Christmas season with his family or friends. Having wintered in the environment which is apparently more to his liking than our own, he arrived in time to work in the United States during the spring, summer, and fall months, when large numbers were engaged in railroad building and construction work of various types. Whether housed in camps or sheltered in box cars, he whistled and hummed his classic tunes, and at dusk was heard singing native songs. Those who remained permanently found employment as truck gardeners near the great cities and fruit-venders within them. Very few of them have become farmers in the general sense. Hence they contribute but little to the rural population, and their influence upon the rural social mind

is not conspicuous. With all their likable qualities, their sheer numbers helped to depress wages.

The Slav tends to settle in mining regions, and in these regions has made his principal contribution to our population and our civilization. There are a few instances of rural communities of Slavic stock where agriculture has been the chief occupation. When the Slavs turn to agriculture in this country, they show a strong community spirit and become splendid cooperators. However, they seem to prefer their own compact communities. They do not spread out and mingle freely with other stocks, and consequently they do not greatly influence the general rural mind of America; at least, their influence is probably not so great as it would be if they were willing to make themselves a part of the rural mind.

The Germans represent 33.13 per cent of our farming population of the present day; the Scandinavians, 23.24 per cent; the British follow with 13.07 per cent. These three nationalities are therefore the dominant element in our foreign-born rural population. In an earlier day the British element of course dominated. It was the early colonists from Great Britain who gave the country its language and its political and cultural background. They did the early pioneering in the colonial period of our history, and they did the most difficult work of planting colonies in a new country in the face of a hostile population and with no large population of their own blood to strengthen them. They did most of the work of clearing the farms in the great forest that covered the eastern third of the country, and of establishing a sound government based on democratic principles. After this initial work was accomplished, the further work of conquering the great West remained to be done; to this newer work the other nationalities of Europe made great and notable contributions. The conquest of the great prairies of the Northwest was largely the work of German and Scandinavian immigrants. The contribution of these sturdy immigrants of northwestern Europe to the moral, social, political, and economic life of the present day helps to explain the phenomenal development of the country in recent years.

Practically all the later immigrants to this country came, as did the original British colonists, as home-makers and family-builders. They brought their women with them instead of marrying with the native Indians. Their descendants have continued this tradition and have not mingled largely with the native elements. Thus they have preserved in relative purity the original European stock. The French to the north showed somewhat greater toleration, or less race prejudice, and mingled somewhat more freely with the natives. The Spaniards to the south showed a still greater spirit of toleration, or much less prejudice, and consequently mingled their blood more freely with other races, both Indian and negro. In many parts of Spanish America there is only a remnant of pure Spanish blood. A large proportion of the population is either pure Indian or contains a mixture of Indian blood.

Results of the mingling of races in America. It is probably too early to predict the ultimate results of these differences. But there can be no doubt as to the primary fact that Latin America shows more mingling of races than English-speaking America. For good or ill, the white population of pure European descent dominates the United States as it does not any of the countries to the south of us.

While our population is of relatively pure European stock, there has been a rather free mingling of different nationalities of European stock upon our own soil. In the early years these nationalities were closely related. Consequently, the results of this mingling should never be confused with the mingling of widely different races, coming from different continents and possessing markedly different traits. The subject of race mixture is frequently misunderstood and perhaps even more frequently misrepresented. A good illustration of this is found in the constant repetition of the fact that the English-speaking race is, after all, the result of the mingling of the different European nationalities, — Saxon and Norman, for example. These represent such closely related nationalities as to be virtually the same stock. It does not involve any more mingling of different races than it does for people of Massachusetts to marry

with those of Maine, or people of Iowa to marry with those of Missouri. In fact, Saxons, Danes, and Normans came from a strip of coast land not so extensive as the coast of New England. This race mixture came into the British Isles at different times and by somewhat different routes, but it constituted no greater mingling of races than would take place if people from Cape Cod married people from Cape Ann, or if people from the north shore of Puget Sound married people from the south shore.

Not only does the white population of the United States retain its relative purity from admixture with widely different races; it still preserves its original European social and political heritage. The folkmoot and the witenagemot are reflected in our town meeting and systems of local representation, — the very core of American democracy. Individual initiative, love of adventure, and the capacity for self-government are indubitably evidenced, first, in the great freedom with which our people move from place to place; secondly, in the great freedom prevailing in the initiation of new enterprises. What is more important, all these European peoples underwent the severe discipline of feudalism, and from it they learned the value of orderly government. Feudalism is almost as hateful as slavery, but our wild ancestors were civilized by it very much as the wild ancestors of our American negroes were later civilized by slavery. However, even feudalism could not entirely destroy the lofty idealism of our ancestors, nor their abiding faith in man's inherent capacity for self-improvement. These are some of the social and mental characteristics inherited from those ancestors whom we share with the peoples from across the seas. Their very life blood pulsates through the veins of American life, and they have contributed more than any others to the upbuilding of our rural institutions.

Far-reaching results of the mingling of races in the South. However, in spite of our common heritage of tradition and culture, and in spite of a practical identity of race, the small landowner and merchant of New England and the Southern planter developed distinct civilizations, which eventually became so marked as to lead to tragic misunderstandings which

came near wrecking our attempt at democracy on a large scale. Climatic conditions favored an industry in the South, which permitted the employment of unskilled labor. What was even more important, the liberal land policy of the Southern colonies made it difficult to hold hired labor. Slave labor proved to be cheap when employed at this kind of work. The properties of the barren New England soil and the colder climate forbade this industry, and lent themselves to fishing and manufacturing, which naturally fostered a village life as compared to plantation activities. Though they began with a common racial heritage, with the same cultural background, and with the same fundamental ideas on government, religion, and morals, yet in a period of years the small farmer of the North and the plantation owner of the South developed minor differences which sectional jealousies elevated from molehills into mountains and led to the bitterest form of strife known to man, namely, civil war.

The presence of slave labor, where it proved to be cheap, impoverished every free laborer who had to sell his labor in competition with slave labor, or, what amounts to the same thing, the products of his own labor in competition with the products of slave labor. No owner could possibly prosper who tried to grow, with his own labor alone, the same crops as were grown by slave labor where slave labor was cheap. The only way by which a working farmer could survive such competition was to reduce his own standard of living practically to a level with that of the slave. That meant poverty and degradation.

The same factor of cheap labor which tended to impoverish these workers who had to compete with it, or to sell their products in competition with the products of cheap slave labor, tended also to enrich those who were in a position to take advantage of the same cheap labor. The impoverishment of a part of the white population of the South and the enrichment of another part produced, as such injustice always does produce, a wide social cleavage. The differences in prosperity between those who can profit by slave labor and those who are impoverished by it themselves

form the basis of a wide class distinction. In addition to that, the mere fact that one was compelled to do the kind of work that slaves commonly did came to be regarded as more or less degrading. The two factors working together tended toward a system of caste. It was not the mere fact that the negro was black and his owner white that produced this social cleavage among the whites. It was the fact that slave labor was cheap. That fact tends everywhere to produce the same results, whether the cheap labor is black or white, slave or free. Where there is a large element of cheap immigrant labor, it works the same way. Those who have to compete with it are impoverished. Those who have to take advantage of it are enriched. This produces a wide difference in prosperity. In addition to that, those who have to do the kind of work commonly done by negroes have to share a kind of social degradation which, added to their poverty, produces a social cleavage comparable with that which existed between the aristocratic landowning class of the South and the impoverished whites.

Rural property and the rural mind. The average size of farms in the United States was 148.2 acres, according to the census of 1920.[1] It is inevitable, because it is economical, that the truck farmer near the large center of population, the dairy farmer dwelling close to cities, the live-stock producer, and the grain-grower shall have farms varying in average size. It is equally inevitable that the mental reactions in each group will also be distinguishable because of the differences in acreage. The ratio of labor income to property income is likely to differ. This difference will give one person an interest in whatever increases labor income, even though it reduces property income, and another an interest in whatever increases property income, even though it should reduce labor income. This showed itself concretely in the case of the plantation-owner of the South and the small farmer of the North. The planter's property income was increased by the presence of cheap labor. He was more interested in that than in labor income. It happened that slave labor in that region was cheap labor, which helped to increase the

[1] Fourteenth Census, Vol. V, p. 65.

planter's property income. The small farmer of the North, however, was more interested in his own labor income than in his property income. Cheap labor of any kind would have increased the value of his property but would have reduced the value of his labor. In his case his loss would have been greater than his gain from the introduction of cheap labor. The same was true, of course, of the small working farmers of the South, but their political thinking, except in West Virginia, east Tennessee, and other mountainous regions, was dominated by the large planters.

An equally clear case is found in the attitudes of different classes of farmers toward immigration. Property income in almost any farming region would be increased by bringing in cheap immigrant labor. The large owner, whose income was mainly property income, was as definitely interested in cheap immigrant labor as the Southern planter had been in cheap slave labor. But the small working farmer, who is now, as always, more interested in his labor income than in his property income, would be injured more than he would be benefited by cheap immigrant labor. This explains the different attitudes toward the immigration of Chinese, Japanese, Mexican, and European laborers. The large landholders, uniformly and with few exceptions, favor such immigration; the small holders oppose it.

Tenancy and the rural mind. The working owner and the renter will, by virtue of their differences of position, develop differences of social interest. The acquisitive instinct is strong, and the desire to possess property is one of the most laudable human traits. It augments and strengthens community ties and gives such stability to local customs as to organize them into permanent institutions. Ownership inhibits wanderlust, whereas tenancy of the sort that is common in this country accelerates the possibility of getting away. Each condition, therefore, affects the mental attitude of the farmer. The moral stamina of the working owner is stabilized by his desire to maintain the fertility of the soil, and his concern to keep in repair the buildings, implements, and equipment, but the renter is impelled by no such virtuous self-interest. The social

instincts of the working owner cement the neighborhood, but the lack of permanent local interests on the part of the tenant tends to disintegrate the unity of the community. The working owner tills his land with a determination to conserve the soil, but the renter, under our American system, or lack of system, seldom stays for a period of years, and consequently occupies no such relationship to the land which he cultivates. We find, therefore, that the social consciousness of the working owner moves faster than that of the shifting tenant, because the owner's social attitudes have been developed through community discussion, agitation, education, coöperation, and organization, which compel him to act in harmony with the group toward a conscious end. The transient tenant is led by no such motives, and often remains outside the activities of the neighborhood, immune to the ennobling influences that affect the permanent members of the community.

Hired labor in rural life. The proportion of hired laborers in the United States is small when compared with most of the older countries, especially England. Until recent years the social distinction between the owner and the laborer was practically unnoticeable, but as the farm hand becomes a transient, and the practice of hiring the boys of the vicinity becomes less common, the former intimate relations existing between hired help and the rural family are slowly giving way to greater reserve. The hired man is today less often looked upon as a member of the family than was the custom in years gone by.

The growth of casual labor, a floating mass of men who follow the season and supply the bulk of hired help from Kansas to Canada during the wheat-harvesting and threshing season, in California during the fruit-packing season, in Illinois during the corn-husking season, and in various other parts of the country during other special seasons, is creating a new problem.

Where employer and employee are of the same race, language, social class, etc., such a thing as a class-conscious opposition between employer and employee, or between capital and labor, is an impossibility. But where each group has a different education, religion, language, race, or color, class consciousness is

pretty sure to develop. In the South the color line, when it happens to coincide with the line that separates employer from employee, tends to produce class consciousness. On the Pacific coast the line between European and Asiatic, in the North and East the line between native and foreign born, in many old countries the line between noble and commoner or between educated and uneducated, will, under the same conditions, produce class consciousness. In our farming districts the only noticeable class consciousness is where employers and employees belong to different races, religions, nationalities, or standards of education.

The farmer's attitude toward politics. Many people have come to regard legislation as a sort of universal remedy for all our ills. The farmer is not the only individual who wishes to resort to this method of relief. The manufacturer and the big business man have been known to seek protection behind a tariff wall. This wall was theoretically intended to help infant industries, but the general rule is that the bigger the industry the larger its influence on such legislation. When the farmers demand political action, the cry of class legislation is heard from the press and the platform, and the political stump speaker who represents urban interests uses it as his most effective weapon to combat other stump speakers who represent rural interests. The latter's diatribes against the money power are matched by other diatribes against the socialistic propaganda, which he asserts to be spreading into the countryside. It would be interesting to have someone clearly define the distinction between the "manifest needs" of the business man and the "unjust claims," so-called, of the farmer. In American political life there has almost never been an agrarian group acting along lines of social solidarity. For this reason our farmers have probably not exerted as much influence in proportion to their numbers as have the manufacturing and the labor groups. The laborer, the manufacturer, the capitalist, the professional man, the scientist, the artist, and the athlete are organized, — sometimes effectively, sometimes not, sometimes wisely, sometimes not. The farming class is probably the least organized of all. The farmer is

beginning to resent the difference: hence farm blocs and other attempts to give organized expression to the farmer's interests.

The farmer's political affiliations in the early period of our history were closely allied with the Jeffersonian policies. It was the influence of the people of the Western country, who were predominantly rural, which largely operated in favor of the purchase of the Louisiana territory in 1803, and of every other accession of territory since that day. They have rightly been called the "makers of the West." The forces which materially affected the issues in the election of 1828 and 1832, when the Whigs appeared on the political field, appealed to the farmer, and he became a Whig. But the Jacksonian aggressiveness had captivated the masses, especially of the South and West, and it was not until William Henry Harrison in the Log-Cabin-Hard-Cider campaign of 1840 that Jackson's grip was loosened. Then Zachary Taylor, rough and ready, followed Polk, the dark horse, and later the Whigs merged with the anti-slavery elements in the North and another party was formed to which the farmers of the free states paid allegiance. The support given to this political organization by the country people of the North and West throughout its entire history has been phenomenal. The greenback movement of the seventies and eighties, the free-silver and Populist movement of the eighties and nineties, and the nonpartisan movement of recent years furnish the only serious breaks in the uniformity with which the farmers of the North and West have adhered to this political organization.

Summary. In spite of the superficial differences between urban and rural people (and these differences are numerous), these two groups of people are, of course, fundamentally alike. They have the same broad, human qualities, the same fundamental emotions and aspirations. Such differences as exist are due to the different circumstances under which they live and work. Even some superficial differences that show themselves in other parts of the world fail to show themselves here. We have no peasant costumes in this country. No one can tell by the way a person is dressed in America whether he comes from the country or the city. In general they read the same news-

papers and the same kinds of books, they enjoy the same kinds of movies, they desire the same comforts and conveniences in their homes, and will have them if they can afford them. They show the same idiosyncrasies of temper and the same general prejudices. As stated at the beginning of this chapter, there are certain broad uniformities in mental reactions. There are also many minor variations due to environing circumstances.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the relation of uniformity and variability to one another and their joint relation to progress or the evolution of human society.

2. When the hurricane of 1926 struck Miami, one man was interested in watching the effects of the wind on different kinds of buildings; another was too scared to do anything, even to save himself; while another busied himself looking after the comfort and soothing the fears of those in distress. How does this bear on the question Is it true that all persons respond in the same way to the same external stimuli? Give other illustrations along this line from your own observation or experience.

3. Consider the following movements. Did they originate in great cities, in small towns, or in the open country? Judaism, Christianity, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, the Lutheran Reformation, the Anti-Slavery movement, the Temperance movement. What other great religious or moral movements can you name, and where did they originate?

4. What do you understand by the word "peasant"? Does that word, as you understand it, describe the American farmer?

5. Discuss, in its various aspects, the following proposition: The forty years which the Children of Israel spent in the wilderness after leaving Egypt and before reaching the promised land thoroughly erased from their minds the impressions made by Egyptian life, and they were thereby enabled to start their life in their new home without the handicap of Egyptian prejudices. Similarly, the one hundred and fifty years which the American colonists spent in the wilderness erased from their minds the impressions made by European life. This was especially true of the settlers, backwoodsmen and pioneers of the interior of the country. They were thus prepared to begin their national existence without the handicap of aristocratic superstitions,

the awe which is akin to fear of royalty, and thus to establish a pure democracy, not simply in form but in spirit as well.

6. How did negro slavery affect the economic and social conditions of the people of the South: (1) the land-owning business and professional classes, (2) those who made their living by working with their hands?

7. How does the immigration of cheap labor from abroad affect the economic and social condition of the different classes of the native-born?

8. Under what conditions should you expect a class struggle between employers and employees in agriculture?

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CHAPTER VI

HOW RURAL PEOPLE FEEL

How moral attitudes develop. One of the important phases of human adaptation is that of becoming emotionally adjusted to the conditions of life under which one has to live. It is as necessary to develop a set of emotions as it is to develop purely physical or mental qualities that possess survival value. One who does not feel a more or less unreasoning loyalty to the group to which he belongs is not likely to be a very valuable member of that group, especially in sudden or great emergencies. On such occasions it is necessary to act promptly and to reason about it afterward if one has not done his reasoning long before. When the emergency arises, it is time for action and not for investigation. Unless there is an inherited instinct to compel action, an acquired emotion is the only thing that will serve in such a case. One must sometimes act very much as a horse shies. For thousands of generations wild horses had to dodge enemies. The horse that stopped to investigate before it jumped did not have as good a chance of survival as the horse that jumped first and investigated afterward. It is probably instinct in the case of the horse, and we have the same instinct of flight, driven by the same inherited emotion of fear.

But these instincts are not enough to serve us in some of the new dangers that beset us in our highly organized life. We and our ancestors have not lived long enough, let us say, in the presence of alcoholic drinks to have bred into our race an instinctive dread of alcohol. Nor are we, in all cases, sufficiently intelligent to reason accurately enough to reach a prompt decision when the temptation shows itself. For most people an emotional horror of drink, if it is once developed, will do the work of an instinctive fear. Our interlocking civilization

requires sobriety almost as rigidly as it requires honesty and chastity. Unless we come to look upon drunkenness with an emotional horror akin to that which we feel toward lying, stealing, or adultery, many of us are not likely to remain sober. Or take the case of lying or general dishonesty. In the mutually interdependent life of a high state of civilization, dependability is of the utmost importance. But if the average man, in a tight place, were forced to reason it all out before deciding whether to tell the truth or not, truthfulness and dependability would be even less general than they are now. The emotional horror of lying serves a useful purpose in this emergency.

In a sense we have here a series of social emergencies. Human nature has been in process of development for hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of years. It takes long periods of time to modify human nature so fundamentally as is involved in the development of instincts. The case of sex control is another example. During a great part of the past the human race has escaped extinction partly by rapid breeding. Unless the birth rate had at least kept even with the death rate, the race would have become extinct. The high birth rate required powerful sexual development. In proportion as the death rate is reduced by the better living conditions of civilization, in that proportion does the importance of a high birth rate decline. But the powerful sexual development persists, and the race finds itself oversexed. Monogamic marriage is a means of controlling the birth rate, but it is ineffective unless promiscuity is rigidly suppressed. It will probably take a few more millions of years to reduce noticeably the power of the instinct of sex. The development of an emotional horror of promiscuity is about the only thing that will serve in the interim, which may be called a social emergency and may be said to call for emergency measures because of a lack of instincts.

Patriotism, family feeling, chivalry toward women and children, loyalty to one's team mates, cannot be said to be instinctive; yet, where they exist, they can be shown to serve much the same purposes, in a complex social life, as the instincts serve in the purely physical life. All these emotional

attitudes are the products of social life. For its own protection every society must supplement the instincts of its people with emotional feelings that will secure from its individuals such prompt and almost automatic action toward social situations as will be comparable with the instinctive behavior that shows itself in a purely physical way, in such forms as hunger, fear, and sex. A society whose members felt none of these social emotions would not last long in a world where it was surrounded by other societies that had successfully cultivated loyalty, honesty, sobriety, and chastity, and an emotional horror of their opposites.

Distinction between moral attitudes and emotional reactions. It is possible to make a fairly sharp distinction between the mind of a people and its moral attitudes, though of course they are closely related. For example, it is one thing to hold the intellectual opinion that alcohol, on the whole, does more harm than good; it is quite a different thing to feel a moral repulsion or an emotional horror toward the drink habit. It is one thing to reason intellectually to the conclusion that truthfulness, on the whole, works better than untruthfulness, especially when practiced by everybody; it is quite a different thing to hate lying and liars. It is one thing to hold the opinion that the general practice of chastity is better for a country than the general practice of unchastity; it is quite a different thing to feel an emotional horror of unchastity. To those who merely hold the intellectual opinion that abstention from alcoholic drinks is, on the whole, better than indulgence, the distinction between moderate and immoderate drinking is a valid one. To one who feels an emotional horror toward drink, the thing itself seems wrong. The distinction has no more validity than that between moderate and immoderate adultery. If people generally feel a moral revulsion against a thing, it becomes to them wrong in itself, and even the most moderate indulgence in it becomes to them essentially wrong.

There are other moral attitudes that are less extreme than these feelings of emotional horror or emotional approval that control our behavior in some extreme cases. Any unreasoned attitude, habitually sustained and regularly followed in actual

behavior, may be called a moral attitude. Family feeling, neighborhood loyalty, and national patriotism are emotional attitudes rather than reasoned conclusions. That is to say, one does not wait to find out whether, on purely rational grounds, his family is worthy of respect or not before he decides whether or not to care for his family. He automatically feels an interest in his family, approves the presence of this interest in others, and is shocked by its absence.

Few are able to present a rational or convincing argument in favor of democracy, but many possess an emotional interest in it. As long as they do, democracy is safe. If it depended solely on each individual's ability to reason logically in its favor, it would be unsafe. Still fewer could give a reasoned and convincing argument for nationalism. Many possess an emotional interest called patriotism. That makes the country safe.

Moral attitudes changed by circumstances. We know from our own experience how an individual's attitude may change according to circumstances. The man who does not own an automobile and has never driven one has a different attitude toward pedestrians from that of the man who has become a regular driver. Even the same man is likely to change his attitude when he acquires an automobile. This is only one illustration. A great many others could be named to show how one's point of view or one's attitude changes with circumstances. A certain farmer, for example, who owned 40 acres of land was positive that 80 acres was enough for any human being and that the government ought not to permit anyone to own more than that. In a short time he became the owner of 80 acres. He was then strongly of the opinion that 120 acres was as many as any person ought to be permitted to own. Again he enlarged his holding and became the owner of 120 acres, and again his attitude changed. Then he asserted positively that 160 acres was the very maximum that anyone had a right to own. In fact, one could generalize and say that this farmer really felt that the proper size for a farm was always just 40 acres more than he happened to possess. This is probably typical of a great many other people.

As stated above, we know from experience how our own attitude changes according to circumstances. Those who formerly lived in the country and now live in the city have experienced this change. On the basis of this direct experience we are prepared to understand the changes that take place in other people. Knowing how we ourselves change when we come to live under different circumstances, it is easy to understand that there may be a real difference between the attitudes of the farmers of different sections, and that the farmers of New England, of the South, of the Middle West, and of the Far West may develop distinctive characteristics. It would be contrary to our own experience if they did not develop different moral attitudes as well as different ways of looking at things, and yet it may be difficult to state accurately the differences between them or to measure those differences quantitatively.

Men also change according to other than territorial circumstances. Other circumstances develop distinctive characteristics and attitudes among rural people. There is sometimes a noticeable difference in the points of view of owners and tenants, of large farmers and small farmers, of farmers and hired men. The pioneer farmer who lived wholly on the products of the farm had to face a different set of problems from those faced by the commercial farmer who lived on the proceeds of the sale of his crops. Everyone is more or less biased, probably, by the circumstances under which he has been compelled to live.

Different points of view of tenant and owner. From the sociological point of view the farm hand is a member of the rural community as truly as his employer, the tenant as truly as the small farmer, the small farmer as truly as the large farmer; yet their points of view are found to differ so as to make it difficult for them to develop that like-mindedness or community of interests that is involved in the development of a real community life. This difference sometimes becomes acute and may present a social problem. Sometimes it may even result in a class war. When, for example, a great deal of the farm work is done by casual labor, — that is, by wandering laborers who migrate from one community to another according to the

kind of work to be done, — the permanent dwellers in the community may come to feel a proprietary interest and to imagine that the community belongs to them. If so, they are likely to resent any attempt on the part of the casual laborers either to influence or to control the community. In less acute form the tendency shows itself in somewhat similar differences between farmers and their permanent help or the hired men that live permanently in the community. The farmers are likely to feel that the community belongs to them and that the hired men are only outsiders permitted to share in the life of the community to the extent that the owners elect. In still less acute form, but frequently quite noticeable, is the tendency to develop a line of cleavage between owners and tenants.

The results of this difference of sentiment between owners and tenants depend somewhat on which class dominates in the local community. Where owners dominate and the tenants are a minority, the result frequently is a position of inferior social status and political influence on the part of the tenants. This difference between owners and tenants may be greatly exaggerated if it is complicated by another difference. If, for example, the owners are white and the tenants black, or if the owners are native-born and the tenants foreign-born, the social gap is much wider than would be possible if both owners and tenants were of the same race, language, color, religion, etc.

However, in those communities where the tenants predominate, where every farm is operated by a tenant and the owners usually live at a considerable distance, — say in a distant city or in a different part of the country, — it not infrequently happens that the whole attitude of the community is determined by the tenant class. The point of view of the tenants may take the extreme course of anti-rent agitations, tenant rights, etc. Being able to control the local government, the tenants are frequently tempted to do so in their own interest. The absentee owner finds difficulty in collecting his rents through the courts and the administrative offices. He may even find it impossible to evict the tenant. Under these conditions it sometimes happens that the tenant's lease is worth more on the market and would ac-

tually sell for more in cash than the owner's title. The tenant who cannot be evicted has, as a matter of fact (whatever may be true in the technical, legal sense), a perpetual lease. If the rent he can actually be compelled to pay is very much less than the land is actually worth, his lease becomes a valuable possession. If he chooses to sell it for cash, the owner cannot do other than to permit the buyer to occupy the farm. The sentiment of the community and the legal machinery will all support the buyer in his claim. This is sometimes called dual ownership, but it grows out of tenancy when tenants so predominate as to control public sentiment, local government, and legal machinery.

Where differences of this kind are permitted to develop, community life becomes difficult. Sometimes the differences are exaggerated by factors of race, religion, language, or nationality. When the owners are, let us say, native-born and the casual laborers are foreign-born, the result may be a widening and a deepening of the social gap. When a similar difference exists between owners and tenants, there is also likely to be a social chasm separating the people of the community into more or less hostile camps; whereas if they are all members of the same race, language, religion, or nationality, it helps to unite them and to promote a sound community life.

Different types of farming create social differences. Differences even in the type of farming will sometimes develop emotional attitudes that result in social differences. The grain-grower sometimes thinks rather poorly of the dairy farmer; the cattle rancher has a poor opinion of the sheep man as well as of the squatter and the dry farmer; the cotton planter feels superior to the truck farmer; and so on. Things of this kind militate against the development of a wholesome community life. Complications arise in a community enterprise when dairy farmers and grain farmers try to work together. The hours at which a dairy farmer can attend meetings are not the same as those that are convenient for the grain-grower. A multitude of minor factors of this kind combine to interfere with a genuine community life under such circumstances. Even church attendance is affected by such differences.

Possession of capital results in different viewpoints. The possession or the nonpossession of capital may create a similar difference. The industrious, painstaking, practical, provident man is the one who really lays the foundation for much of our civilization; the lazy, extravagant, and shortsighted person is likely to be a drag on civilization; yet each of these types is likely to think itself the moral superior of the other. The mental and moral characteristics developed by thrift far excel the ultimate value of those developed by extravagance. Man has been defined as the creature that looks before and after. The superior man looks farther into the past and the future than the inferior. To extend one's interests over longer periods of time is as truly a mark of superior intelligence and morality as to extend one's interests over wider spaces or to larger numbers of people. Yet the shortsighted and the narrow-minded are never convinced that they are not the best people, and they cannot be taught to admire the farsighted who show greater ability than they in evaluating the past and future as well as the present.

A difference of emotional attitude sometimes develops between the owners, commonly called capitalists, and the non-owners, commonly called laborers, comparable with that which, in a previous paragraph, was described as developing between landowners and tenants. In a community of small shops where owners predominate in numbers over their helpers, the helpers uniformly occupy a lower position and a less influential one. In these latter days of large industrial establishments, where the workers, especially if they be non-owners, vastly outnumber the property-owners or capitalists, the tables are likely to be turned. This is practically certain to happen if the owners of the industrial plants — that is, the shareholders — usually live in communities widely separated from the communities where their employees live. The owners do not even know their employees by name, nor do the employees know the owners. Under such circumstances it is about as certain as anything in this human world can ever be that class consciousness will develop. Wherever class consciousness develops, intellectual conclusions

have comparatively little influence. Moral attitudes are determined by class feeling rather than by logical analysis. If, in addition to the fact that the owners, living in a distant part of the country, and the workers, living in the local community, are widely separated geographically, there is another factor of separation, — namely, the difference of race, language, religion, or something of that kind, — the social gap is made still wider and deeper.

If the owners are mostly old-timers and the workers newcomers who have not yet acquired the language, the habits of life, or the educational background of the old-timers, the difference of moral attitude or of emotional approval or disapproval becomes so great that the two groups can hardly understand one another's language. The owning group are very likely to talk about Americanism and American standards, etc., little realizing that the working group do not even understand what they are talking about. On the other hand, the working group are very likely solemnly to vote themselves to be the real producers of wealth and to call the owning group monopolists, parasites, exploiters, etc. They do not realize that the owning group find it impossible even to understand such a point of view.

Under the spell of class feeling, one group automatically approves precisely what the other group disapproves. It is really a difference of moral attitude, or an emotional approval and disapproval, rather than a difference of opinion based on logical analysis. Moral attitudes are seldom based on logical analysis. No one is prepared to understand even the A B C of the so-called labor problem or the problem of the antagonism between capital and labor until he gets this point.

However, this so-called antagonism between capital and labor is part of a much larger phenomenon, — the general phenomenon of group antagonism. It makes little difference whether the factor that separates one group from another is geographical, occupational, religious, or racial. The fact that the groups are widely separated, that they do not come frequently into contact with one another, converse with one

another, and get one another's point of view, is very likely to breed class consciousness and a difference of moral attitude. The same thing will evoke moral revulsion in one and moral approval in the other. The very factors that produce sectionalism in a nation, conflicts between nations, and conflicts or wars between religious groups are precisely the same as those that produce conflicts between industrial groups.

Point of view often determined by locality. Differences of locality help to determine attitudes with respect to national policies. The Eastern farmer who realizes that the rapid development of Western farming lands creates competition for himself is not likely to be enthusiastic over reclamation. The Western farmer who hopes to get a good piece of land for himself or his children in a new reclamation project is more likely to be an agricultural expansionist.

A great many people have probably forgotten that the famous Webster-Hayne debate started over a question of agricultural expansion. From the standpoint of the Eastern farmer as well as the Eastern manufacturer the rapid opening up of Western lands was undesirable. The products of the Western farmer would compete with those of the Eastern farmer, and the lure of the Western lands would draw laborers away from the Eastern factories. The Foot Resolution, which was the ostensible subject of the debate, looked toward a retardation of the process of expansion. Of course, the question of Federal versus state sovereignty was so much in the air that debaters could not keep off that subject, no matter how a debate started, and hence the debate really centered on this question.

Even the individual's position on the question of Federal versus state sovereignty was largely a moral attitude rather than a reasoned conclusion. His attitude was determined by the bearing of this question on the question of slavery. In so far as state sovereignty tended to strengthen the cause of slavery, those who were interested in slavery automatically and emotionally favored state sovereignty. In those cases, however, in which Federal sovereignty supported the cause of slavery, they automatically and emotionally favored Federal sovereignty.

On the whole, it is possible that during the slavery controversy there was as much of an appeal to the principle of state sovereignty on the part of the opponents of slavery as on the part of its proponents. For example, the Fugitive Slave Law was an appeal to Federal sovereignty and a direct attack upon state sovereignty. The resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law on the part of the Free-Soilers and the practical nullification of the law by several of the Northern states were distinctly an exercise of state sovereignty and a resistance to Federal encroachment.

Ideas of justice affected by circumstances. Even our ideals of distributive justice are likely to be affected by our economic condition. The strong producer who is able to make a large contribution to the wealth of the country is easily convinced that each should receive according to his product or contribution. The weak producer who makes a small contribution, or who has expensive tastes, is easily persuaded that wealth ought to be distributed according to needs rather than according to production. If weak producers should overwhelmingly outnumber the strong producers, the former might easily outvote the latter and change our whole social system in the direction of Bolshevism. If, on the basis of physical and mental tests, it is found that 10 per cent of our population does not have physical or mental strength enough to earn a comfortable living, some will say that they should be taken care of in institutions and not permitted to cumber the labor market. Others would say that it is the fault of society if they are unable to earn, not only a living, but a surplus to provide for old age. Some will say that society's sole responsibility for them lies in the fact that it permitted them to be born. Others, more short-sighted, seem to think that weaklings should be favored at the expense of the strong in order that all may live equally well.

Because of the dual quality of human interests it is of the utmost importance that the students of rural sociology understand how different points of view and moral attitudes develop and what are the factors that promote these differences, as well as the factors that tend to eliminate them; and that they keep, first, a perspective of a harmony of interests, and, secondly,

the disposition to pursue those interests that are harmonious rather than those that are in conflict.

Isolation a factor in developing different points of view. Isolation is one of the most powerful factors in creating the impression of difference and conflict. It has been said that there is a good deal of human nature in the dog. Anyone familiar with the behavior of dogs will remember that when two strange dogs meet, the first attitude is one of ferocity. In the majority of cases, however, longer acquaintance results in friendship. Anyone who has noticed small boys has noticed the same thing. When they first meet, the attitude is one of hostility. Acquaintance, in the majority of cases, results in friendship rather than in carnage. Certain old people who used to go to circuses doubtless will remember the so-called happy family, — the cage in which hereditary enemies such as the lion and the lamb, the cat and the rat, are found living together in peace and harmony. It is said that Charles Lamb on one occasion so far forgot himself as to speak rather explosively of a certain person. A companion said to him, "I did not know that you were acquainted with that person." To which Lamb replied: "I am not. I could not hate anybody I knew."

These observations from widely separated fields all point to the same general conclusion, namely, that isolation or lack of acquaintance tends toward hostility rather than friendship, whereas acquaintance tends toward friendship rather than hostility.

Someone has said that the being that loves solitude is either a wild beast or a god. It is more likely to be a wild beast or to partake of the nature of a wild beast. An individual human being who has lived in isolation and has had few contacts with other people is more likely to be suspicious and morose than an individual who has lived in intimate contact with a considerable number of his fellow men. A social organization of a certain Western town adopted as its slogan "Get acquainted with your neighbor; you might like him." This slogan hinted at the same deep facts of human nature, namely, that acquaintance is more likely to lead to friendship than to hostility, whereas isolation is more likely to lead to hostility than to friendship.

Among the different attitudes that result from circumstances under which one lives, the most important of all is that which results from isolation, on the one hand, and intimate contact with other human beings, on the other hand. It was said of the Romans that when they hired many mercenary soldiers they made it a rule not to permit their soldiers to fraternize with the soldiers of the enemy, lest, coming together and looking into one another's eyes, they should discover, not enemies, but friends, neighbors, and fellow beings. After that discovery was made, they could not fight with the same fury. By keeping their soldiers apart from the enemy till the shock of battle, they would fight with the proper degree of fury to satisfy their employers.

Group isolation develops sectionalism. Not only will the isolation of the individual tend to produce a feeling of moroseness and suspicion, but isolation of one group of individuals from the rest of the world tends to produce the same result on the group as a whole. It becomes provincial, self-centered, and more or less suspicious of and hostile toward other groups. Nothing so effectually destroys the spirit of jingoism as travel, commerce, and frequent contacts between people of different sections of the country or quarters of the earth. Within a country itself the danger of sectionalism can be combated successfully only by binding the different parts of the country together by means of easy communication and transportation. For this broad social reason we find a justification for a postal system fostered by the government with a uniform rate of postage regardless of distance. It is socially important that the Pacific slope and the Atlantic seaboard, the Lake region and the Gulf coast, should have as easy and as cheap means of communication as possible. It is even desirable that we should overcharge those who send letters for a short distance in order to pay the cost of carrying letters long distances. This is one means of preventing any section of the country from becoming even in the smallest degree isolated. If there is the slightest feeling of isolation in any section of the country, it is pretty certain that a feeling of sectionalism will follow as a matter of course, and that we shall cease to be in the full sense of the term a united country.

Many contacts between country and city desirable. It is sometimes complained that there are too many contacts between country people and city people,— that this is one of the reasons why so many of the country people are dissatisfied with the country and desirous of moving to town. There may be a genuine danger here, but it is likely to be exaggerated. If it were possible — which it is not — to keep country people ignorant of town people and of the opportunities and attractions of the city, we should probably develop a much worse evil than any that come from migration. We should develop in our rural districts a very undesirable attitude of mind, that is, suspicion and hostility toward everything urban. Minor differences, such as were enumerated in the early part of this chapter, will exist anyway, but it is not desirable to emphasize these. The more they can be eliminated, the more closely we shall come to establishing a social union in the United States on the part of all classes in all sections. Some of these minor differences, however, will probably persist in spite of all efforts to eliminate them.

Intensity of desire affected by diversity of interests. It seems to be the general rule that the individual with a great number and variety of interests feels less strongly regarding any one interest than the person who has very few. This is supposed to be the basis of one of the chief distinctions between the moral attitudes of urban and rural people. It is almost inevitable that urban people should develop a greater number and variety of interests than rural people. They have many more opportunities to mingle with others, to get different points of view, and to acquire many and varied wants and desires than country people. This may be emphasized by remembering the important matter of economic desires. One who lives in a place where he sees a great many desirable things displayed in shop windows, and worn or possessed by multitudes of near neighbors, is pretty certain to desire a larger number of things than the person who lives more or less in isolation and sees very few goods on display or in the possession of neighbors. At the same time, the one who cares for only a few things is likely to care intensely for each one of them. The man who can choose among a great variety

of things feels less disappointed if he fails to get one, because there are plenty of others that he can buy. The man who does not have an opportunity to buy anything else naturally feels a greater disappointment if he fails to get the one thing that he wants.

The desires for economic goods form only one class of interests. The same rule, however, seems to apply to all interests, — intellectual, social, domestic, religious, etc. In the natural order of things, country people develop fewer interests than urban people, although here, as in all other cases, there are individual exceptions. This helps to explain the observed fact that country people generally have more intense interests than urban people. Family interests, for example, are likely to be a little more intense with country people, as are patriotism, neighborhood feeling, etc. The more isolated the lives of country people, the more intense these few interests become. A family feud would scarcely be thinkable in these modern days in a city. Even in an ordinary agricultural community, where interests are somewhat varied and diverse, a family feud could hardly develop. Such things develop only in extremely isolated communities, where the average individual does not have many things to care for besides his family.

Generally speaking, each of us may say: "He who comes between me and the one great desire of my heart is my enemy. He who threatens the one thing for which I care intensely is in danger. My enmity is likely to become extreme and even to become dangerous. If, however, I have so many interests that no single one figures largely in my life, or no single interest seems really essential, I may be reasonably tolerant toward the person who threatens any one of these interests. If the one thing for which I care intensely is my religion, I am likely to become a religious zealot and to be more or less dangerous to the enemy of my religion. If the one thing for which I care extremely is my family, I shall likewise become dangerous to the enemy of my family. If I care intensely for my country, — in other words, if I am intensely patriotic, — I become dangerous toward the enemies of my country, either at home or abroad." This

helps to explain the observable fact that there is rather more intolerance among country people than among city people. Country people care rather more intensely for a few things. City people care less intensely but for more things.

In discussing the merits of these two attitudes it is difficult for country people and city people to understand each other. Merely to state that city people have a larger number of interests and that they care less intensely for any one of them seems to the average city person to carry with it, automatically, approval. They assume, as a matter of course, that it is better to have a variety of interests and that these interests should be less intense. However, the mere statement of the fact carries with it neither approval nor disapproval. On the other hand, the country people would be equally mistaken in assuming, as a matter of course, that the mere statement of the fact that country people have more intense interests, loyalties, and moral attitudes than city people automatically carries with it approval. They should not take it as a statement that country people are morally better than city people. The mere statement implies neither approval nor disapproval. In fact, it would be very difficult to decide, on strictly scientific grounds, which is the more desirable point of view or attitude.

Tolerance versus intolerance. The urban mind seems to assume that tolerance is per se better than intolerance. The typical rural mind would say: "It depends upon the thing toward which you show tolerance. To be tolerant of crime is certainly not a virtue. To show tolerance toward liars, thieves, and wife-beaters can hardly be called a virtue." In other words, the country mind would be justified in saying that there are some things, after all, that are really worth caring for, fighting for, and even dying for. The typical urban mind, with of course many individual exceptions, would be inclined to take a supercilious attitude toward such a conclusion and say: "What is the use of caring intensely for anything? Nothing is really worth while. Therefore what is the use of becoming excited or stirred up over anything? Why should anything evoke emotional horror or emotional approval?"

As a matter of fact, no one is ever tolerant on any subject for which he cares intensely. Toleration and indifference go together. Of course, it is vastly better to be indifferent toward things that are fundamentally of no consequence than to care intensely for them. Much of the intolerance of the past has undoubtedly been on matters that were of no consequence whatsoever. That, however, does not prove that there is really nothing that is or can ever be worth caring for.[1]

QUESTIONS

1. Under what conditions should you expect a war of the classes to exist in the rural districts (1) between landowners and tenants, (2) between employers and hired men, (3) between large landowners and small farmers?

2. Is it desirable that we should develop emotional attractions and aversions, or should our behavior in every case be the result of our reasoning? To be concrete, is it better that we should tell the truth because we are ashamed to lie, or would it be better to rid ourselves of this feeling of shame and tell the truth only because we reason it out as being, on the whole, better than lying?

3. To what extent do you think the attitude toward alcoholic liquor has become a moral attitude in the sense indicated in Question 2, and to what extent do people still consider the good or evil in alcoholic drinks in a purely intellectual light?

4. "Say, Bill, who's that feller?"
"'E's a stranger."
"Le's 'eave a brick at 'im."
What should you infer as to the life and experience of the participants in this dialogue? Is it always wrong to be intolerant, or are there cases when it is wrong to be tolerant?

5. How are social conditions affected by the slow process of social evolution?

6. What is the most successful farming district that you know anything about? the least successful? Find out (1) the proportion of tenant-operated farms in each district, (2) the unfavorable conditions, (3) the connection, if you find any, between tenancy and these unfavorable conditions.

[1] See Thomas N. Carver's "Economy of Human Energy," pp. 101, 102. The Macmillan Company, 1924.

7. There are many illustrations of the different points of view occasioned by different types of farming. The fruit-grower wants a high tariff on imported fruits; the wheat-grower wants no tariff at all. The reason is obvious. Give other illustrations of such varying points of view.

8. Conservationists have urged it as a moral duty to grow forests and prevent their being cut wastefully. In some states, like Pennsylvania, the law taxes standing timber so heavily that many owners cannot afford to allow their timber to stand uncut. However strong the owner's sense of duty may be, he is faced with a definite need for the money which he can obtain only from the sale of the timber. Can you think of other cases where the economic conditions affect moral attitudes?

9. Explain how isolation becomes a factor in determining moral attitudes.

10. Discuss the fundamental reasons for misunderstandings arising between urban and rural groups.

11. How does home-owning influence the social life of the rural group?

12. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of being a rural dweller.

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CHAPTER VII

RURAL SOCIAL ORIGINS

Man at least partly social. Whatever may have been the original nature of man, there is no doubt that his nature is now somewhat social, or that he has become at least partly socialized. The mere fact that we have developed a language indicates something more than an accidental possession of a voice and of vocal organs, just as our use of tools implies more than the possession of a handy thumb. Both imply also a mind capable of inventing and utilizing these agencies to our advantage. It is possible to imagine men taking the trouble to invent a language merely as a pastime, as suggested in the chapter on recreation. But after it was invented, it had survival value and therefore survived. It was needed, and that need must have grown out of the fact of an associated life. If men were to live in societies, if they were to gain the full advantage of organized activity, it was necessary that some easy and economical method be found by which they could communicate their ideas, their needs, and their plans to one another.

Not only the development of a language, with all the physical and mental changes that go with it, but many other human characteristics of the present indicate that associated life is the normal life of man. What we call the individual is, in part at least, the product of association. Without association with others the normal course of development of the individual could not take place.[1] For a child to grow up without association would warp its nature as certainly as though its brain were compelled to grow inside a dented skull. When the ordinary channels of communication are closed, as in the case of a person who is both deaf and blind, mental development is constricted

[1] See J. Mark Baldwin's "Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Development." The Macmillan Company, 1906.

unless new methods of communication can be invented, as shown by the famous cases of Laura Bridgman and Helen Keller.

It seems that we must consider the social as well as the physical environment if we are to understand the evolution of the individual. It is as necessary that the individual should develop those mental and moral qualities that will enable him to live comfortably in his social environment as it is that he should develop those physical qualities that will enable him to live in his geographical environment.

Why we continue to live together. How men first came to live together in societies is not known. Why they have continued to live and work together in larger and larger societies that are more and more highly organized is definitely known. It pays better.

The primitive form of association is not definitely known. One theory is that it was the family, consisting of father, mother, and children, and later of grandchildren and great-grandchildren also. The descendants of Abraham are cited as an example. But Abraham was not a primitive man. He came out of a highly civilized country where family institutions had apparently attained a high state of development. The Scotch clan seems to be a somewhat better illustration, but even this is unconvincing. Another theory is that men lived in small hordes before there were families as we now use that term, that promiscuity prevailed before the institution of marriage developed, and that the family is a comparatively recent development.

Diverse origin of social groups. When you stop to think about it, there is no reason why we should assume that there was any first, or primitive, form of society. There is no reason why several societies might not have developed in several different ways, from several different systems of primitive grouping. One society may have grown out of a family. As the family enlarged with the lapse of years it came to include grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the first pair. After the death of that pair, the family may have continued to hold together until it included cousins, — second, third, and fourth

cousins, and so on indefinitely,— until the element of kinship, which was the original bond, was almost forgotten. A clan or a tribe sometimes developed in this way out of the family. Sometimes the descendants of the original family broke up into smaller groups under a loose federation. In other cases social groups seem to have been formed in other ways than the enlargement of a family. Stragglers from various sources come together in a given locality, attracted by the opportunity to gain a living. Soon the necessity for law and order forces them to make some sort of organization. The mining camps of California furnish a good example of this method. Settlers on the public lands of the Western states furnish another.

The necessity for military protection sometimes forced men and families to band themselves together. The hunting tribes probably gained little advantage from hunting together in groups rather than as individuals, though in exceptional cases they could surround their game and slaughter it by wholesale. But even if they lost something in the way of efficiency by hunting together, the advantage of a large number of warriors banded together for fighting purposes was so great as to make it a practical necessity. No matter how successful the individual hunter may have been in securing game, if he was killed by an organized band of warriors his success as a hunter was of no value to him. Military defense must therefore bulk large as a factor in promoting group action or social life. Even in the pastoral state, when herding was the principal means of livelihood, group action had little economic advantage over individual action. In fact, economic factors probably tended to scatter the herdsmen in order that their herds might find pasturage. The case of Abraham and Lot, as recounted in Genesis xiii, 5–12, illustrates this tendency. But even herdsmen may have to defend their herds, as well as their pastures, against hostile bands of marauders. In matters of military defense, numbers and organization count.

In agriculture and manufacturing, however, numbers and organization are fully as advantageous as in military defense. So long as military defense remains a necessity we shall have two

reasons compelling us to live in organized societies. Even when military defense is no longer necessary, the one industrial reason will be ample. The individual who tries to live for himself alone will not succeed so well as the one who tries in some way to fit himself into a productive group.

As suggested above, historical evidence is wholly lacking as to the primitive form of human association. At best our conclusions on this question are based on conjecture rather than on recorded fact. It seems altogether likely that the necessity for defense was the compelling factor. There are evidences that men existed on this planet contemporaneously with huge, carniverous beasts that have long since become extinct. Without the strength that comes with numbers and organization, men would have stood a poor chance of survival in such a situation. Even today, in parts of Africa that are infested with lions, the native, although armed with his assagai, will not meet the lion alone. However, the lion is a relatively puny beast as compared with the saber-toothed tiger and the cave bear, to say nothing of the mammoth. It is easy to conjecture that in those primitive times, when men had to fight against such enemies, they were forced to live in groups for purposes of defense. Whether the groups were planned or accidental would make little difference. Those that showed the capacity for organization would survive; those that lacked the capacity would perish.

The problem of increasing population. It is altogether likely that the family, as we now know it, was a later development. The necessity for defense was so all-compelling that men could give little attention to mere family feeling or to immediate kinship. In much later times, when the problem of subsistence was more pressing than the problem of defense, the necessity of controlling population would automatically give rise to some sort of family institution. There seems to be a close connection between the idea of property and the solidarity of those who are dependent upon the control of property for their subsistence.

The first illustration may be found in the case of a tribal group and its hunting ground. The conclusion would be forced

upon the wiser men of the tribe that, as numbers within the tribe increased, a given scope of territory would yield less game per individual. A normal birth rate can be said to be higher than the normal death rate. That is to say, if reproduction goes on at a rate which is physiologically possible, each pair will produce and bring to maturity more than two people. Several results follow automatically from this fact. First, there is a tendency for numbers to increase; secondly, a hunting tribe will have increasing difficulty in securing game enough in a given scope of territory to supply the increasing numbers; thirdly, this in turn will eventually require either an expansion of territory or a stationary population; fourthly, an expansion of territory is likely to be resisted by other tribes that are facing the same situation; fifthly, a stationary population can be maintained only by increasing the death rate to balance the birth rate or by reducing the birth rate to balance the death rate.

A powerful, fighting tribe may succeed in expanding its hunting grounds, thus avoiding the necessity of keeping its population stationary. But only a well-organized tribe of fighters can do this. This means that organization and organizability in themselves have survival value. However, the expansion of a fighting tribe creates a desperate situation for the neighboring tribes. They must defend their hunting grounds or perish. In order to defend them they must organize; so the alternative for them is organize or die. There is a strong probability that sooner or later an equilibrium will be reached under which the expanding tribe will be held in check by neighboring tribes, fighting for survival. In other words, eventually the method of expansion becomes increasingly difficult and finally impossible.

Balancing the birth and death rates. When further expansion of hunting grounds becomes impossible, then the tribe is limited to the other alternative, that of maintaining a stationary population. This, as suggested above, can be done either by controlling the birth rate or by allowing the death rate to increase so as to balance the birth rate. The latter is an expensive process and sooner or later becomes intolerable to thinking or construc-

tive minds. Then the great problem becomes, how to keep the birth rate within such limits as will avoid wholesale destruction through starvation or the other evils that follow from insufficient nourishment.

Correlating parenthood and economic responsibility. Under communal ownership of land there is no solution of this problem. The only possibility of maintaining a stationary population is the destruction of surplus individuals, especially the females. This, however, is abhorrent to all human beings. It is accepted only as one of several disagreeable alternatives. Restriction of the birth rate is impossible under promiscuity of the sexes and under communism of land. Suppose, in a general town meeting, it is agreed that the birth rate must be kept down by continence and general self-restraint. Under the system of promiscuity there is no method by which this can be enforced. The least thoughtful, or those who have the least interest in the maintenance of a balance, will be most likely to multiply; those who have the most forethought and who care most for the welfare of the tribe will be the only ones who will restrain themselves. Some method must be found under which those who are responsible for the existence of children shall be made responsible for their economic support and maintenance. This requires giving up promiscuity and developing something that resembles the family, which is an invention by means of which parenthood and economic responsibility are correlated.

Again, so long as the hunting grounds of the tribe are common property, even the institution of the family is ineffective as a means of keeping population within economic limits. Those parents who have some regard for the economic welfare of their children will be helpless to safeguard that welfare so long as there are other parents who have no such forethought and are willing to multiply at a physiological rate, as the plants and the lower animals multiply. The least provident and careful can still overstock the hunting grounds and make it impossible for anybody to make a good living. Unless the tribe is willing to destroy its surplus infants, there is only one possible solution, and that is to make family allotments.

When a plot of land is allotted to each family, and notice is served on each family that it must live on its own allotment, that it cannot derive its support from the land which has been allotted to other families, then parental responsibility begins to be effective. Those families that keep their numbers within reasonable limits will be amply supported by their plots of land; those that exercise no such restraint must take the consequences of their own extravagant indulgence of their procreative instincts.

Not only does land yield diminishing returns from successive applications of labor in the hunting stage; it likewise yields diminishing returns from pasturage and tillage. In other words, in the pastoral and agricultural states, as well as in the hunting state, the necessity still exists of correlating the birth rate with the capacity of the land to support numbers.

Family property and tribal property. The reason for family property is precisely the same at bottom as the reason for tribal property. The tribe that did not safeguard its hunting grounds would gain no advantage from the control of its own birth rate. If neighboring tribes exercise no such control and are free to provide for increasing numbers by poaching on the hunting grounds of the tribe in question, this tribe will find itself no better off in the end than it would have been if it had allowed the multiplication of numbers to remain a physiological rather than an intellectual or a spiritual process. Similarly, within the tribe the family that transforms the process of multiplication from a physiological to an intellectual process would gain no advantage if other families were permitted to spawn and their offspring were permitted to derive support from the land of the tribe. It is only when the families that exercise forethought are enabled to protect their standard of living against the spawners that they are able to maintain their standard or to derive any advantage whatsoever from their tillage and their forethought. Under communism, in short, the entire subsistence of the tribe is at the disposal of its least intelligent members.[1] It is only

[1] See A. T. Hadley's "Economics," pp. 49 and 50. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1902.

under the combined institutions of the private family and family property that intelligent forethought has any economic advantage, to say nothing of survival value.

What intelligent buffaloes would do. So many human sympathies, feelings, and passions are aroused by this sort of discussion that perhaps a more unbiased conclusion can be reached if we assume an intelligent herd of buffaloes instead of an intelligent tribe of human beings. Let us suppose that this intelligent herd of buffaloes occupies a definite range of country, and let us suppose that for a time multiplication proceeds at a physiological rate. It is only a question of time before the range would show signs of being overstocked. Food would be hard to get, especially in bad seasons. The more intelligent of the members of this intelligent herd would begin to see that there was a limit to the number that could be supported within the range and that, if they were too pacific to try to extend their range, the number of the herd would have to become stationary by one process or another.

The herd might become stationary by the process of starvation; that is, the death rate might rise to balance the birth rate. This would be an inordinately high death rate, provided every female produces a calf every season; that is, it would take an excessively high death rate to balance what might be called a normal animal birth rate. We can imagine the herd's being very much puzzled over this situation, but we can easily see that there would be only one possible way out, namely, to reduce the birth rate to balance what might be called a normal death rate. When the intelligent buffaloes see this point, then the great problem becomes how to control the birth rate so as to avoid overstocking the pasturage and raising the death rate by general starvation or by insufficient nourishment. Two things would soon appear to be absolutely certain: first, that general promiscuity could never accomplish this result; secondly, that even if the sexes were paired off and monogamic marriage agreed upon and universally observed, there would still be a difficulty. Those pairs that had no forethought would continue to multiply at the normal animal rate, or something approaching it. If

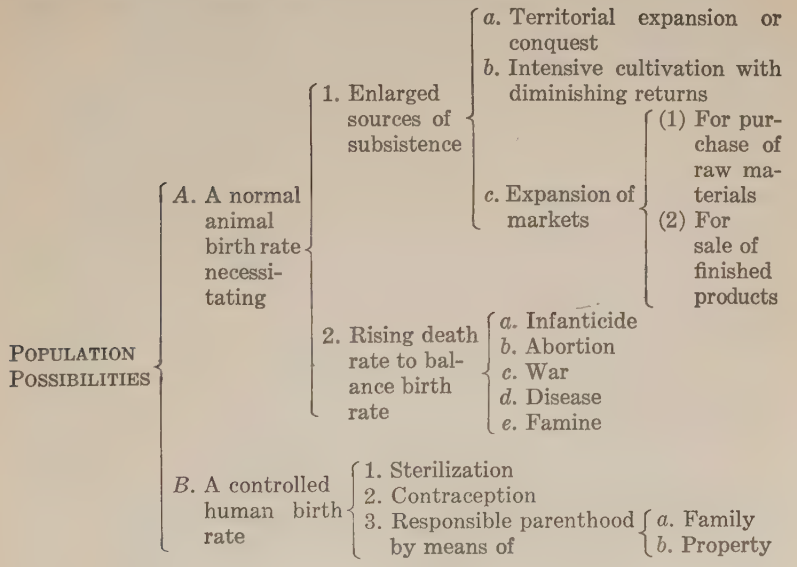
90 per cent of the pairs exercised forethought, they would gain no advantage from it, because the range would continue to be overstocked by the rapidly increasing progeny of the thoughtless 10 per cent. In other words, the only effect of communism, even with the institution of marriage, would be to hold the range for the advantage of the least thoughtful part of the population. After wrestling with this problem for a time, they would realize that there was only one possible solution and no second, — the subdivision of the range and its allotment to families. Under this scheme those pairs that kept their own numbers within the capacity of their own allotment would live well. Those pairs that exercised no such forethought could not impoverish the rest by pasturing on their allotments; they could impoverish only themselves so long as they were compelled to pasture on their own allotments.

Reducing the birth rate to balance the death rate. The reasoning in a situation of this kind is so clear-cut, and the conclusions are so definite, as to leave no doubt that the twin institutions of a responsible family and family property are inherent in the very conditions of a comfortable human life on this planet. No other device has ever been invented that will avoid the necessity of raising the death rate to balance the physiological birth rate, or that will succeed in substituting the alternative method of rationalizing the birth rate to make it balance a normal death rate.

If we will look around, we shall see that there is no creature except man that has escaped the first of these alternatives. The balance of nature means a balancing of the birth rate and the death rate. The unthinking plants and animals multiply without restraint. There is no reduction of the birth rate. The death rate merely rises to balance it. Human beings that live as the plants and animals do — that is, either in a state of promiscuity or without the institution of property — have never been able to escape from the same alternative. With them the balance of nature means a high death rate to balance the physiological birth rate. It is only where the two institutions of the family and family property are found in combination that

a part of the population at least has been able to escape from that alternative by substituting the other alternative of reducing the birth rate to balance the normal death rate. Even though a part of the population fails to do this and is therefore compelled to live in a state not much better than that of the plants and animals, the other part has at least been able to gain some advantage from its intelligent forethought. We may conclude, therefore, that whatever the primitive form of human society may have been, the development of the family was logically inherent in the very conditions of life on this planet. It is a means, and one of the absolutely indispensable means, to the maintenance of a standard of living that may be called human to distinguish it from that which exists among the plants and animals.

The following diagram presents the alternatives faced by every living species, including civilized man.


POPULATION POSSIBILITIES
A. A normal animal birth rate necessitating
1. Enlarged sources of subsistence
a. Territorial expansion or conquest
b. Intensive cultivation with diminishing returns
c. Expansion of markets
(1) For purchase of raw materials
(2) For sale of finished products
2. Rising death rate to balance birth rate
a. Infanticide
b. Abortion
c. War
d. Disease
e. Famine
B. A controlled human birth rate
1. Sterilization
2. Contraception
3. Responsible parenthood by means of
a. Family
b. Property

Before the possibilities of intensive cultivation or of extensive commerce were revealed to men, the alternatives were much fewer and more simple than those indicated in the above dia-

gram. Then, as suggested in a previous paragraph, a normal animal birth rate involved only two possibilities, either (1) expansion of territory by conquest or (2) a rising death rate to balance the birth rate. So long as even a small percentage of the members of a communistic tribe or herd, either animal or human, maintained a normal animal birth rate, it was impossible for the whole tribe or herd to evade one of those alternatives mentioned. Even those members of the tribe who were willing to maintain a human birth rate, as distinct from an animal birth rate, could gain no advantage from it.

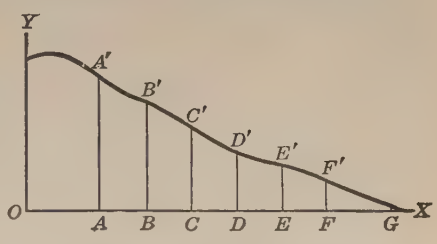
The law of diminishing returns. We must not imagine, however, that the discovery of the possibilities of intensive cultivation and of extensive commerce entirely relieved civilized men from these alternatives. More and more intensive cultivation involves diminishing returns per unit of labor expended. Extensive commerce involves international rivalries in trade, and these international rivalries may, in the end, result in a balance beyond which one country cannot expand its commerce without forcing some other country out of the market. When a considerable number of large and powerful countries are contemporaneously trying to expand their markets, even foreign commerce begins to be subject to the law of diminishing returns.

This law of diminishing returns shows itself, in its simplest form, in agriculture. A brief statement of this law might be given as follows: First, there is a limit to the quantity of a given crop that can be grown on a given acre or unit of land. Secondly, this limit is approached gradually; that is, the crop does not continue to increase in exact proportion to the effort expended in growing it until the absolute limit is reached and then stop suddenly.

Suppose, for example, that 100 bushels of wheat is the absolute limit that can be grown on a given acre of land, but that 25 bushels of wheat can be grown on that acre as the result of one day's labor properly distributed over the growing-season. If 50 bushels could be grown as the result of two days' labor, 75 bushels as the result of three days' labor, 100 bushels as the result of four days' labor, and if no more than 100 bushels could

EVANGELICAL
SCHOOL OF THEOLO

be grown by any amount of labor, then we should not have what is commonly called the law of diminishing returns. It would merely mean that there is a fixed limit to the amount that could be grown on a given acre. However, we find by actual experience that that absolute limit is not suddenly arrived at in any such way. If one day's labor on the acre in question will yield 25 bushels of wheat, it is altogether likely that two days' labor would not yield 50 bushels, but might yield 45. Three days' labor would not yield 75 bushels; it might yield 60. Four days' labor would not produce 100 bushels; it might produce 70. And so on. Eventually, under the most intensive cultivation, the absolute maximum of 100 bushels would be reached. In this particular illustration the law of diminishing returns would be illustrated by the accompanying diagram.



Let us measure along the line OX the number of days' labor expended in the cultivation of our acre, and along the line OY the yield in bushels. Let us assume also that the yield of one day's labor on this acre would be represented by the surface $OYA'A$; that the yield from two days' labor on this acre would be represented by the surface $OYB'B$; from three days' labor, by the surface $OYC'C$; and so on. Then, according to the illustration, there would be an increase in the total crop from each additional day's labor applied to the cultivation of our acre until seven days had been expended. Beyond that, according to the diagram, there would be no additional yield as the result of additional expenditures of labor, the absolute limit of 100 bushels having been reached.

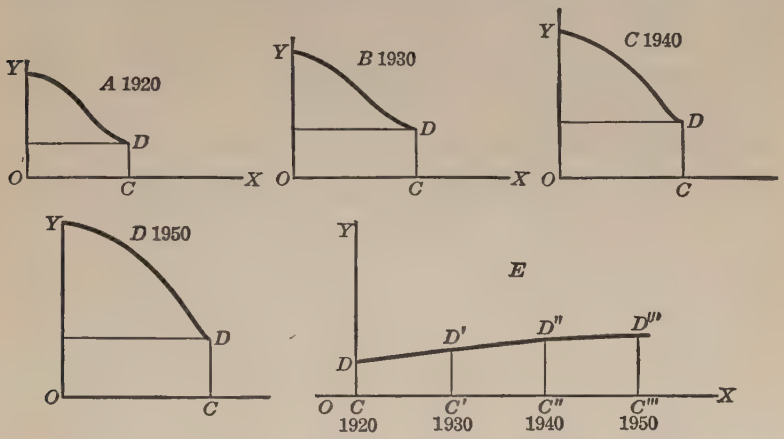
Now a corollary of this law is that, even though more and more intensive cultivation will enable a larger number of people to extract subsistence from a given area of land, if their numbers increase too far they will begin to get less per man or per unit of labor, even though they increase the total crop. Accord-

ing to this diagram the yield per day when seven days' labor is applied to the cultivation of one acre is less than the yield per day when only one day's labor was expended. Whether we take a day's work or a year's work as the unit, the principle would be the same.

The curve of progress. Another and very different principle is sometimes confused with the law of diminishing returns by the inexpert economist. All that the above diagram shows may be strictly true of a given area at a given time or in a given state of civilization. At an entirely different time or in a different state of civilization, or even after some new discoveries in agricultural science have been made, the whole curve $A'B'C'D'E'F'X$ might be raised. But the law of diminishing returns has nothing to do with progressive changes from time to time. Even after the curve has been raised, it continues to fall with successive applications of labor to a given piece of land. Suppose that the curve, as actually drawn in the diagram, illustrates the law as it operates in 1920, with the knowledge of agricultural science then available. Suppose that by 1930 some new and powerful chemical fertilizer has been discovered by means of which the absolute limit is raised from 100 to 200 or even 500 bushels per acre. Even that absolute limit of 200 or 500 bushels would not be arrived at suddenly, but gradually, as in the case of the 100-bushel limit in 1920. The curve would in a general way resemble the one in the above diagram, but it would be enough higher to show a total productivity twice or five times as great as the present. This may be illustrated by the series of diagrams shown on page 169.

Let us suppose that diagrams *A*, *B*, *C*, and *D* represent productivity curves at different periods, say 1920, 1930, 1940, and 1950. That is, in 1920, in diagram *A*, the curve *YD* is a correct productivity curve, and the agricultural practice of the time finds it expedient to put a quantity of labor, represented by the line *OC*, into the cultivation of this land, with a marginal product *DC*; in 1930 the curve *YD*, in diagram *B*, represents the productivity curve, and a somewhat larger quantity of labor, represented by the line *OC*, yields a marginal product represented

by the line *DC*; and so on with diagrams *C* and *D*, representing productivity curves and marginal products in 1940 and 1950. Then let us turn to diagram *E*, which is not intended to represent the law of diminishing returns at all, as it operates at any one time, but to represent the progress in agriculture made from 1920 to 1950. In this case the marginal product of labor applied to the piece of land in question is measured along the line *CY*, but the period of time elapsing is measured along the line *OX*.



Let us try to draw the diagram in such a way as to make the line *DC* in diagram *E* exactly equal to the line *DC* in diagram *A*. In other words, this line represents the marginal product of labor applied to land in 1920. Again, the line *D'C'* is drawn exactly equal to the line *DC* in diagram *B*, the line *D''C''* exactly equal to the line *DC* in diagram *C*, and the line *D'''C'''* exactly equal to the line *DC* in diagram *D*. In this case diagram *E* would merely indicate the rate of progress in agriculture, the marginal product of labor, as applied to land, rising from decade to decade as the curve *DD'D''D'''* rises.

No final escape from these alternatives. While animals and primitive men who know nothing about the possibilities of agriculture and commerce are limited to the severe alternatives of expanding their grazing and hunting grounds or allowing the death rate to rise if they maintain a normal animal birth rate,

modern civilized man can, in part, escape from these alternatives by intensive cultivation and extensive commerce. Yet he cannot escape completely. He can only postpone the day when he must either reduce his birth rate to balance a normal death rate or submit to the inevitable rise of the death rate to balance a normal animal birth rate. If the population increases without increasing the area from which subsistence can be drawn, it means that, sooner or later, each acre will be approaching its absolute limit of productivity. Even before that final and absolute limit is reached, it begins to yield diminishing returns, which means a smaller product per man, as population increases.

For a time improved methods of cultivation may enable a given race to maintain its standard of living without expanding its area, but there is a limit even to that. No race has ever succeeded yet in going very far in this direction. Like all ancient countries, the Orient has already found itself so densely populated that a rise in the death rate is the only thing that succeeds in balancing the animal birth rate which these people tend to maintain. The modern Occidental world has increased its numbers without yet suffering any reduction in the product per man or in the standard of living of the individual or of the family, but it is significant that every Western country has derived its food from wider and wider areas, either by colonization, which has meant taking land from less civilized peoples, as we did on this continent, or by the expansion of commerce. The expansion of commerce usually means bringing the products of the soil from wider and wider areas, working them over in factories and selling the finished products back to the natives at an advanced price, and living on the profits of the transaction.

We have not done very much yet in the direction of increasing the productivity of an acre of land. None of the great agricultural inventions of the last century, except in the field of chemical fertilizers, has added appreciably to the yield of an acre of land; these inventions have merely enabled us to expand over wider and wider areas. What we shall eventually

be able to do in the direction of increasing the yield per acre remains to be seen. Increasing the yield per acre may result in merely increasing the yield of the crops that we are now growing and consuming, — such, for example, as wheat.

New and more powerful chemical fertilizers may considerably increase the yield of existing crops per acre, but the best-informed scientists are not very optimistic on this point. If we are to maintain increased populations from the same soil, we shall probably achieve vastly greater results by turning from wheat to potatoes or some other crop that yields more per acre, from beef to beans as a source of protein, and so on.

Areas of unused or partially used land. However, it is not absolutely necessary that we should try to live entirely from the products of our own soil unless we allow ourselves to be dominated by certain sentimental people with very limited vision. There are vast areas of land in the world admirably adapted to the growing of wheat which have not yet been used for that purpose. They are still occupied by people with a lower civilization who are using them for hunting grounds and other purposes that yield a very small amount of subsistence. We must decide whether those lands are to be devoted indefinitely to the support of the progeny of these people who make a very inferior use of the land, or whether we shall follow the rule that land shall be used for the benefit of those who can make the most productive use of it, or who can make it support the largest number of people in the best possible way.

It is one of the largest of all moral questions whether a strip of land shall be left in the possession of people whose civilization requires a thousand acres for the support of one human being when it might be used by another people whose civilization would enable them to support a hundred human beings on that same thousand acres, and support them more satisfactorily. It is important that people should begin studying this question rationally and not sentimentally, for the time is coming when it will be the most practical and the most important question in the whole wide world. The future of the human race depends upon the practical answer given to that question by those who

have developed a civilization in which a thousand acres will support a hundred persons. If they do not decide it, it will be decided in a practical way by those whose civilization enables them to support only one man per thousand acres. In short, the question is whether those who have already developed a high civilization shall voluntarily commit suicide and leave the world in possession of those who have not developed a high civilization. Thus, if civilized nations voluntarily leave large portions of the earth in possession of savages who can make a thousand acres support only one man when it might be occupied by races who could make it support a hundred men, they are virtually saying that one savage is of more value than a hundred civilized men. There is no moral question upon whose answer hang consequences of vaster importance.

To him that hath. The same question, of course, arises within the tribe: Shall the land already in the possession of the tribe be used for the equal benefit of all, regardless of their ability to cultivate it, or shall the rule be that it go to those who can make it produce most for the support of human life? A certain kind of sentimentality would say that a poor cultivator needs more land than a skillful one in order that he may live equally well. *To him that hath not shall be given.* Cold, unimpassioned reason would say that the skillful cultivator should be given more land than the unskillful because he could make it produce more and thus contribute more to human life. *To him that hath shall be given.* Even the unskillful cultivators would be better off working for the skillful cultivators under this system than they would be if the land were wasted by being put into the hands and under the control of the less skillful cultivators.

How to get land into the hands of the most productive users. One way of getting the land into the hands of the most skillful cultivators is to let it go to the highest bidder, the general rule being that the man who can make an acre of land produce more than another man could pay more than that other man for it. With many exceptions this rule tends, in the long run, to get the land into the hands or under the control of the most productive users. Just as a Yankee farmer could afford to pay

more for a piece of land than an Indian hunter, so a more skillful farmer could afford to pay more for it than a less skillful one.

Family and property the basis of modern civilization. We have seen that the solidarity of the family and the institution of property tend to preserve a correlation between population and subsistence, and to prevent general overpopulation, even though the unthinking minority are allowed to multiply beyond their power to maintain a high standard of living. If land is made a merchantable commodity, to be freely bought and sold, rented or leased, the actual limits of subsistence are expanded and larger numbers of people are enabled to live and to live better than would be possible otherwise. The twin institutions of family and property permit those who possess forethought and constructive ability to live well within their own limits of subsistence, even when the unthinking minority increase beyond those limits. Moreover, the limits themselves are expanded more rapidly and more widely where each family is made dependent upon its own product and not permitted to pasture upon the range, poach upon the preserves, or live upon the bounty of other families.

So far as modern social conditions are concerned, we start with the existence of the family and the institution of family property. All the associations of men with one another — the whole organization of modern society — include these two institutions as essential parts. Attempts to return to promiscuity or to communism are equally reactionary, though the proponents of these changes, like the proponents of all other changes, call this progressive. It is said that nothing is new except that which has been forgotten. As was remarked on page 122, they who advocate returning to something that has long been forgotten are very likely to imagine that they are advocating something entirely new.

The present order of society. In our study of the present order of society we may therefore take for granted certain institutions that are inevitable, and proceed to study the more complex questions that arise in connection with the development of more highly integrated social organisms. In the order of simplicity

of organization the farming community is the first of those that were formed for strictly economic rather than military reasons. The village comes second, and the city third.

Again, society may be studied by attempting to understand its institutions, such as property, the family, the school, the church, the government, the economic system, and social service in its highest development. In these institutions will be discovered the customs, beliefs, traditions, fads, fashions, crazes, and other forces at work operating in a process of evolution. It would be very profitable indeed if primitive races could be found and observed, in order that we might learn from first-hand study how the first human associations originated. But this is impossible. The beginner must therefore study the social groups composing a part of the environment in which he lives. The necessity of keeping in mind the continuous flow of human development from the remotest ages to the present is important, but we can find out a great deal more about present human associations than we can ever learn about those of the remote past. We know, of course, that a document like our Constitution was not an invention of the fathers of the Constitutional Convention. It was a growth from remote times, thought out by generations of English-speaking people, crystallized in various bills of rights and in our own Declaration of Independence, until it was wrought out into its present form. The fact that the sanctions which gave it validity in the early days of the Republic were the product of centuries of thinking, and that the complexity of twentieth-century society does not seriously strain its governmental efficiency, is evidence that the principles embodied in it are sound. This bit of evidence is valuable to the social worker, who must constantly bear in mind how easily one may go wrong and how many experiments in the field of government have failed. It is of special value to the rural sociologist, who is studying social forces as they operate in the most primitive of those social groups that are based upon economic advantage rather than upon military necessity.

The attitude of the sociologist. All the social sciences deal with the problems of society from one standpoint or another. But

the point of view of the rural sociologist is somewhat different from that of other students. He is studying those human relationships that develop in the most primitive social groups, — relationships that are based upon economics. These relationships seem, on the surface of things, just to happen, but under all social phenomena the student will find reasons that escape the thoughtless. These reasons are of two kinds: (1) those that grow out of the law of advantage and (2) those that grow out of human nature and have to do with the subtleties of the human mind and the sources of human feeling. The first kind of reasons is the most fundamental and has to do with sheer physical cause and effect, — with such questions as What happens to those who behave thus and so? The second kind of reasons has to do with such questions as Why do men behave as they do?

While the former are the more fundamental, both must have careful study. It must constantly be borne in mind that we are dealing with the subtleties of the human mind and the wellsprings of human emotions, and not with chemical elements or physical phenomena. The experiments of the physical scientists in these fields of knowledge, especially in the field of biology, are valuable to the social scientists in that they offer important data concerning the behavior of organisms and their relationships to each other. The method of trial and error is just as reliable, generally speaking, in the field of social science as it has been found to be in the physical sciences, but one cannot manipulate his materials in the study of sociology as easily as can the laboratory scientists.

On the whole, and in the long run, however, it is much more important to know the consequences of this or that form of behavior than it is to know whether men are more likely to behave in the one way or the other. If one kind of behavior invariably produces disastrous results in the end, it is futile to say that men are naturally inclined to behave in that way. In the first place, men do not all behave alike. Those whose behavior results more favorably are better men than those whose behavior results less favorably. It is highly important that the world should be peopled with those who behave favorably to

social growth rather than with those who behave unfavorably. In the second place, individuals can, within limits, be led, taught, or persuaded to behave in different ways. It is important to know how you really want men to behave before you attempt to modify their behavior. The question How do you want men to behave? is bound up with the first kind of questions, namely, What are the consequences of this or that form of behavior?

Kinds of society. There are societies of animals as well as of men. The elephant, the monkey, the horse, the dog, and the ant reveal a capacity for organization that is highly commendable and worthy of closest observation. Some writers maintain that for sheer morality or sound social behavior the ants far surpass human beings.[1]

The society of man is more complex, more subtle, and more interesting, at least to us, than that of any animal. Boys gather in gangs, men assemble in clubs, college students congregate in fraternities, farmers and business men organize in associations, women flock together in clubs and societies, religious differences result in sects, and political differences in parties, because of man's inherent capacity for association. This capacity for association is probably, in the case of man as in that of insects, the evolutionary result of the facts already noted, that both in war and the higher phases of industry it paid better to fight or work in groups than singly. Only those have survived who had some capacity for organization. In short, such capacity had survival value.

Interdependence in modern society. This capacity for organization may be instinctive, as in the case of the social insects, or it may be the highest form of intelligence, as in the case of man. Intelligence may be characterized as the capacity to vary the type of response to a given stimulus according to the requirements of the law of advantage. The reasoned ideas of men, as well as their instinctive behavior, are involved in the develop-

[1] See Lafcadio Hearn's "Kwaidan," pp. 222, 224 (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1904). See also William Morton Wheeler's "Social Life among the Insects," Lectures IV and V (Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1923).

ment of the structure of society. There is an interdependence of function which has resulted in the expression "We are all members of one body." If the farmers in Minnesota and the Dakotas fail to raise spring wheat, the millers in Minneapolis will be forced to close their mills unless Canada can supply the grain. If Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Texas do not keep up the supply of live stock, the packing houses in Chicago, Kansas City, and St. Paul will probably shut down. The manufacturer and the merchant also will sell fewer goods, and the preacher, the teacher, the doctor, the lawyer, and the dentist all, in turn, will experience the interdependence of the functions of society in an age of great and increasing specialization. Instinctively, or in terms of a primitive behaviorism, these different groups may feel more or less antagonistic. Reasoned intelligence, however, shows them that their interests are interdependent and will lead them to seek one another's good will.

Interdependence of condition is equally discernible. Crop failure in the United States may mean famine elsewhere, suffering in England, and death to those dependent upon the surplus grain of this continent. Inflation of the money market of one country usually affects the exchange power of the same commodity in other countries. A dead day in Wall Street spells idle brokers in the entire country. The failure of one bank in New York may involve many banks in other parts of the state, and even in the neighboring states.

Results of increasing interdependence. The interdependence of all human activities leads to sweeping social changes. A change in one thing may necessitate a series of changes in everything else that is related to the one. These changes result in a slow process of evolution, sometimes inevitable and beyond control, because human relationships depend partly upon the physical environment. We have seen how size, remoteness, communication, soil, climate, and character affect the development of social activities, and, so far, it is safe to assume that nature sets a limit somewhere to civilization, though the existing level is fixed not by nature's limit but by man's low state of

evolution. However, it is also recognized that many changes are due to intelligent direction, and that man is the only animal that has conquered his environment to the extent that he is master over it to a considerable degree.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the question Do human beings live in groups because they naturally like it, or do they learn to like it because necessity forces them to live in groups?

2. Would it be possible to avoid overpopulation without responsible parenthood?

3. What two fundamental institutions are necessary to create and enforce responsible parenthood?

4. How would you contrast the law of diminishing returns with the law of economic progress?

5. Should land be under the control of those who need it most or under the control of those who can make it produce the most?

6. Are human beings as highly developed morally as ants?

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CHAPTER VIII

RURAL MALADAPTATION

The prevalence of misfits. There are misfits in every social group, whether urban or rural; that is, there are individuals who fail to adjust themselves to the conditions of time and place, who are unable to do anything that others are willing to pay for, or at least who fail to make contacts with those who would be willing to pay for what they are able to do. There are others who break under the strain of our complex social life, — who cannot adapt their behavior to crowded conditions or who cannot resist the temptations that come to them from the sight of wealth, of "high life," or of the sale of drugs. There are recalcitrant individuals who cannot play the game, who will not engage in teamwork, who insist on attracting attention by singing out of tune or otherwise making themselves nuisances. The rebels against the requirements of social life differ somewhat, according to the kind of social life in which they are expected to live. The rural misfits, therefore, may show some peculiarities not found in the urban misfits.

The meaning of adaptation. Before proceeding with a study of rural maladaptation it will be necessary to consider at some length the various meanings and aspects of adaptation. Adaptation means fitting things together. Human adaptation, in its broadest sense, means the fitting together of the human species and its environment. Human adaptation is both passive and active, — passive adaptation meaning the modification of the human organism to fit its environment. Active adaptation, meaning the modification of the environment to fit the human organism, is accomplished by moving things. Things are moved only by pressure; pressure requires power. In the last analysis, man exerts power by means of his own muscles. He economizes his muscular power in three principal ways: (1) by so moving

and reassembling things as to make use of other forms of power, such as wind, water, steam, and animal power; (2) by making use of such mechanical devices as the lever, the inclined plane, and the pulley; (3) by organization.

Sociology is somewhat more specially interested in organization than in other means of economizing man power. A social nature, or a capacity for organization, is necessary to the most effective organization of human effort, and a social, or organizable, nature therefore has survival value. Because of the survival value of a social nature, the selective forces have long been building up social breeds of men by weeding out the antisocial individuals and preserving the social individuals.

The reason for maladaptation. It is now necessary to point out that the very fact of a process of variation and selection, of survival and extinction, means that some individuals are maladapted. Even the necessity of living a more and more highly organized life puts something of a strain on human nature, causing a good many individuals to fail to adapt themselves to such a life. In this, as in all other respects, individuals differ among themselves. This is variation, without which there could be no evolution or progress. That is to say, if all individuals were exactly alike, there would be no opportunity for selection. Without selection, or the preservation of the more adapted and the extermination of the less adapted, the species could never improve. Where there are wide variations, or mutations, the selective forces operate more swiftly and produce results more quickly than where the variations take place within narrow limits.

Variation means that there will be maladaptations as well as adaptations, — that is, individuals who fail to fit into their environment, either physical or social. These misfits are a part of the cost of progress, — one of the penalties we must bear if there is to be an improvement of the human species.

Incomplete development. This is apparently an unfinished world, and we are an unfinished race. The process of creation, or evolution, — whichever name one chooses to adopt, — seems to be incomplete and to be still going on. The very idea of incom-

pleteness implies maladaptation, at least partial maladaptation. In other words, we are all more or less misfits, and it will take a great many more generations of trial and error on the part of the Creator, or of variation and selection as a part of the evolutionary process, to bring us into complete harmony with the world, and the world into complete harmony with ourselves. Meanwhile, the very process of eliminating errors, on the part of the Creator, or of exterminating the unfit, on the part of the evolutionary process, is a painful one to those who are in process of being eliminated or exterminated.

The very fact that we have to work for a living implies that nature has not provided all we want when and where we want it. Work is still a penalty from any point of view. If we have fallen out with nature, work is a disagreeable necessity. If, from another point of view, work is good for us, the fact that most of us do not like it implies that we are still somewhat unadapted or that we have not yet been improved up to the point where we like what is good for us.

The further fact that there is a conflict of interests among individuals, that "one man's meat is another man's poison," implies that we have not evolved far enough or that the process of creation has not yet been nearly enough completed to enable us to live together without conflict. When we have been brought, either by the method of trial and error or by that of variation and selection, to a higher degree of adaptation, we shall all be able to live together without conflict. The fact that we talk about conscience, a sense of duty, and the sense of honor, and feel the compulsion from these sources to do things that we should otherwise not be inclined to do, and to leave undone things that we should otherwise be inclined to do, is a further indication of the incompleteness of our development.

It is contended by students of insect life that some of them are much more highly developed on the purely moral side than we are; that certain varieties of ants, for example, are so thoroughly socialized that no ant ever shows the slightest inclination to do anything that is not in perfect accord with the interest of the whole tribe. They not only do not need govern-

ment with a criminal law to compel them to behave properly; they do not need even a conscience, a sense of duty, or a sense of honor. Each one seems to find the highest possible pleasure in doing that which is most advantageous to the whole group. It is needless to point out that we human beings are far from that stage of development or state of moral perfection. Being such creatures as we are, we are compelled to discuss such questions, and that is the reason for this chapter.

Problems of behavior. We are all more or less puzzled by two classes of problems. One relates to the moral sentiments or feelings. Why do we feel as we do about this or that form of conduct? What is the origin of shame, modesty, humility? How do we happen to feel an emotional horror when we think of certain forms of behavior and an emotional approval of other forms? Such questions as these lie mainly within the field of psychology and anthropology, and only incidentally within the field of sociology. Another group of questions, equally important, has to do wholly with the logical consequences of certain forms of behavior. Not how do people feel about dishonesty or how did they come to feel so, but how does it work if dishonesty is generally practiced? How does this affect prosperity, teamwork, strength in military defense or in any other field of endeavor? Not how do people feel toward chastity or how did they come to feel so, but what happens to the nation that possesses such feelings compared with one that has no feelings on the subject? Not how do people feel about property or how did they come to feel that way, but what happens to a nation or people that has a feeling of respect for property compared with one that has none? Questions of this group are not primarily psychological but economic in their nature. Neither the psychologist nor the anthropologist is in a position to answer them. Only the economist is equipped by his training to give the answer to any of this group of questions.

Sympathy considered as the origin of moral sentiment. As to the origin and nature of moral sentiments there are apparently two main theories, one of which is well expressed by Adam Smith in his "Theory of the Moral Sentiments." According to

this theory sympathy is the basis of the moral sentiments. We are all endowed with a certain amount of imagination and a certain amount of ability to enter into the thoughts and feelings of other people. The cry of a hurt child hurts us because we know how the child feels. The sight of suffering, especially in creatures like ourselves, causes suffering in us for the same reason. For the relief of ourselves we must, therefore, relieve the suffering of the hurt child or of anyone else whose condition causes us pain.

It is noticeable that sympathy is limited in several ways, but mainly by the difficulty we have in imagining ourselves in the place of the other person or creature. Pain or joy on the part of a person close by, within sight and hearing, affects us more intensely than an equal amount of pain or joy on the part of a person at a distance, concerning whom we have only a little second-hand or third-hand information. The vividness with which we see or understand the pain or joy of others also depends somewhat upon their resemblance to ourselves. It is easier for us to understand how a human being feels than how a creature very unlike ourselves would feel. Therefore we are more moved by the knowledge of pain or joy on the part of a human being than on the part of dumb animals. The farther removed a creature is from us in point of similarity, the more difficult it is for us to understand how it feels, and therefore the less we sympathize with it. We callously impale an angleworm on a hook, but would be horrified if anyone should treat a puppy or a kitten in the same way. When it comes to creatures still lower than the angleworm, such as various protozoa, it can hardly be said that the element of sympathy affects us in the slightest degree.

Custom considered as the origin of moral sentiment. The other important school bases its theory of the origin of moral sentiments wholly upon custom. The German scholar Wundt supported this from the psychological side. Darwin also gave it some support from the standpoint of zoölogy, though he was too much of an evolutionist to ignore survival values. If we become habituated, or hardened, to the habit of impaling angle-

worms on a hook, that is sufficient to explain why we are so callous or so entirely lacking in sympathy. We might easily become highly sympathetic if the habit or custom or fashion only started and prevailed for a sufficiently long time. The most extreme forms of cruelty toward our fellow human beings will leave us unmoved if we become sufficiently habituated.

This general theory leaves unexplained the observed facts that these habits of sympathy generally develop only in relation to creatures who are near us in point of space, kinship, and general resemblance. Why do we form the habit of being more sympathetic toward human beings than toward angleworms or amœbas? Why do men more easily and more generally acquire the habit of looking with horror upon the eating of human flesh than upon the eating of animal flesh? Adam Smith and his school would seem to have a more satisfactory answer to these questions than Wundt and his school.

Why some customs endure. There is still another aspect of the question, which takes us back to the economic principles involved. Suppose morality to be wholly a matter of habit or custom. Why do some habits or customs seem to last longer than others, or, what amounts to much the same thing, why do people who form certain habits and customs grow and expand into great societies and others not? Assuming for the sake of argument that there is no reflective morality, that man never thought things over and deliberately adopted a wiser and rejected a less wise habit or custom, the question still remains, What happens to those who for any reason adopt the unwise customs and what happens to those who for any reason or for no reason at all adopt the wise customs? Fundamentally this question should be stated otherwise. What is the difference between the wise and the unwise custom? Clearly one must come over to the economic point of view to find the answer. The wise custom is one which works well for the social group, — a custom which enables a social group to grow great, or, in physical terms, which enables a large number of people to live and live comfortably. Probably the best definition of civilization is that state of society which enables large numbers of people to live

comfortably together. A low state of civilization makes this impossible, and a high state of civilization makes it possible.

From the earliest times those who were capable of thinking at all have been forced to consider the safety of the tribe, the family, or the group to which the individual thinker happened to belong. In the case of an attack by an enemy, human or subhuman, the thinking about safety might be limited to the important exigency of the moment; but if the exigency required the coöperation of several members of the group, and for some reason they did not coöperate well, or if the teamwork was defective and brought disaster, some of the thinkers probably considered this question and wondered why teamwork was so defective. If it was found that a certain individual lacked courage and failed to come to the help of his fellows, and that this in turn caused uncertainty and lack of faith in one another, it would not take a deep thinker to see that courage was a factor in the safety of the group. One could therefore reason correctly to the conclusion that the safety of the group would be promoted if courage could be increased. Not only would each individual fight better against the enemy, but there could be better coöperation when each had confidence in every other. Thus we have pretty good reason for suspecting that intelligent thinking had something to do with shaping tribal habits and customs — that it has not been wholly a matter of accident what customs were adopted and what were not.

But it is well to remember that even though wisdom had nothing to do with it, the selective forces at work would, in the end, have preserved those tribes that happened to develop the customs that gave them strength. The tribe that happened to develop the habits of courage, coöperation, and teamwork would undoubtedly last longer than the tribe that happened to develop the opposite habits. Therefore we arrive at the same ultimate conclusion, whether we assume reflective wisdom as the selective agency in determining which customs shall develop and which shall dwindle and die out, or whether we rely wholly upon the resultant facts of survival and extinction as the selective agency to determine what customs shall prevail and what shall not.

If we combine the two ideas, we reach the conclusion that it is exceedingly fortunate for a given nation if its moral sentiments or its customs and habits happen to be of the kind that make for national strength rather than for tribal weakness. Only such nations can grow great and powerful. If, for example, common honesty is necessary to good teamwork, and lying and dishonesty destroy teamwork, then it is exceedingly fortunate for that people which, either through wisdom or by accident, develops an emotional horror of lying and dishonesty, and an emotional admiration for truthfulness and honesty. This emotional attitude has great survival value for a people, however it may have originated.

Moral standards subject to constant change. It is well known that the actual standards of a tribe or nation change from time to time and vary widely from place to place. A man who wins the utmost condemnation at one time and place may be the hero or the saint at another. However, it is well to be on our guard against going too far in this direction. "The criminal of today is the saint of tomorrow" is a mouth-filling phrase whose sonorousness is mistaken by some for soundness or accuracy. In the case of one criminal out of millions that may be true. Socrates and Christ may be cited as examples, but the citing of two or three examples falls far short of statistical verification. Out of the millions that have been called criminals in the past not many, certainly not a majority, have come to be called saints. Of those thousands and tens of thousands who are today commonly called criminals in this country, no statistician would be willing to predict that a majority or even a respectable minority would ever in any future age be called anything but criminals. In other words, the above quotation serves to blind rather than to enlighten and clarify.

That there is no disputing over the matter of taste comes a little nearer the truth. If we confine the expression to matters of taste in unimportant things, such as salad dressings, millinery, neckties, ceremonial observances, powdered wigs, or academic costume, we can safely accept it. These things can scarcely by any stretch of the imagination be supposed to have

survival value. Each individual can be left to his own decision in such matters. Perhaps it is safe to say that most of the questions on which men have waged the bitterest controversies are the merest trivialities and have no survival value whatsoever. One might grow even more pessimistic and say that in all probability the great and bitter controversies of the future will be over questions of no vital concern whatsoever to any human being, and yet it is unsafe to say that there are no questions that have survival value or that there is really no question in the world that is worth considering seriously and quarreling about.

Tolerance is a virtue only in matters of indifference. If there is anything whatsoever upon which the life of the tribe depends, the tribe cannot afford to be tolerant on that question. If, for example, in the fighting stage of human development a tribe had been indifferent to the question of courage, — if it had shown no emotional horror of the coward and no emotional admiration of the hero, — that tribe would probably not have lasted long. In the present age the nation that shows no emotional horror of a lie and no emotional admiration of truthfulness will probably never amount to much. Even the more or less apocryphal story of George Washington and his hatchet has probably had some survival value for us if it has helped to make honesty popular.

The test of moral standards. It is well to remember that a test is always objective and is found largely in measurable results, and is not subjective or to be found in mere theory. This applies to motives as well as to everything else. A good motive is one that can be counted upon to produce good results even though occasionally an accidental result may be bad. A bad motive is one that can be counted upon to produce bad results even though by accident it may now and then produce a good result. Motives can be evaluated subjectively only when we know what results can normally be counted upon. To say that a desire for possession is greed and therefore bad is to speak without intelligence. We must look and see what the sum total of results of the desire for possession are. If the sum total is good rather than bad, the desire for possession is a good desire.

A group of people in which, from the earliest childhood up, this desire shows itself in a normal and dependable manner will be a good group in which to live.

Whether the desire for possession is a mere result of the fact that the human hand is a grasping instrument, or whether it is the result of cultivation, need not concern us. As a matter of observed fact the human hand is a good piece of mechanism for grasping objects. One of the earliest activities of the child is to grasp, making use of the anatomy of the hand. Continued use is presumably instinctive; at any rate a habit of grasping and holding becomes fixed. This may or may not be the ultimate source of the desire for possession. One thing is certain, however: if this desire were in the ultimate sense a bad desire, then it would work to the injury rather than the strengthening of the tribe, and those tribes that showed the least of this propensity would have an advantage over those that showed the most. Hence the propensity to grasp, along with the desire to possess, would long ago have been eliminated.

If the desire to possess is called greed for the purpose of giving it a bad sound, in all fairness the desire for esteem should be called vanity in order to give it an equally bad sound; otherwise we are not in a state to consider the two desires fairly and without bias. The desire for esteem sometimes becomes excessive and makes an individual very objectionable; and yet the sum total of the results of the desire for esteem, or the desire to be thought well of by one's fellows, is probably good rather than bad. It leads to emulation, competition, and public spirit, just as the desire to possess leads to industry, thrift, and all the productive virtues.

The desire for action for its own sake leads to play and may sometimes lead to excess; and yet the sum total of results of the desire for action makes for strenuosity in industry or the doing of good as well as for strenuosity in mischief when the desire becomes perverted. The same may be said concerning all the other desires and propensities of human nature.

The purpose of government as well as of moral systems is to harness and organize the different propensities of man so

as to get good rather than bad results. Where the individual can be so controlled as to make it impossible for him to gratify his desire for possession except by doing something that is productive, or to gratify his desire for esteem except by contributing something worth while to the community, or to gratify even his desire for action except by being active in something that gives satisfaction to others, then we may say that we have a good system of social control, a good society, and a good nation with a good system of laws and of rewards and punishments.

Why there are social misfits. Most of the social misfits are those who do not respond to the system of rewards and punishments in ways that are favorable to the group, the body politic, or the nation. The individual who tries to gratify the desire for possession without producing or contributing anything is a thief or a swindler. The individual who tries to gratify the desire for esteem without doing anything to earn it is an impostor, a humbug, or a demagogue. An individual who tries to gratify his desire for action without regard for the interests of others is likely to be merely a rowdy or a maker of mischief. It is important, therefore, that we study the behavior of misfits under several general headings.

Every great war has been followed by an epidemic of crime and vice. It has also been followed by a veritable outburst of civic virtue. These two propositions are not contradictory. They merely bring out the fact that individuals react differently to the same situation. There is no more contradiction in the two propositions than there is in the statement that if two men under different conditions of health and vitality go into a cold shower bath, one may come out with a glow and the other with a chill. To one a cold shower bath was a favorable condition and to the other it was unfavorable. Any severe ordeal, whether physical or moral, produces different results in different individuals.

Degeneracy. One specific form of social failure is commonly called degeneracy. This may be either inherited or acquired. Inherited degeneracy is difficult to deal with after it occurs;

if dealt with at all, the treatment has to begin several generations before it appears. But there is such a thing as a definite breaking down under a strain. Overwork, work for which one is physically and mentally unadapted, worry, resort to drugs, and many other causes are assigned. We may group them all together by merely saying that a great many individuals break under the strain of civilization.

Specific forms of degeneracy. There are ordeals in city life; there are different ordeals in country life. They who have the moral vitality to stand the ordeals are strengthened in every case. They who have not are likely to degenerate. An important social discovery, commonly attributed to the late Walter E. Fernald, is that degeneracy frequently results from failure to adapt ordeals to the capacity of the individual. The ordeal of a heavy task may serve to illustrate. The person who is strong enough to perform the task easily is strengthened by it; to impose the same task on one who is not strong enough may cause injury. The weak student may suffer injury in health and even in morals from his inability to carry the studies required of him. The capable student may be strengthened in both respects by carrying identically the same studies.

In the education of children it has been found necessary to guard against two different mistakes: first, that of overloading the feeble child with tasks beyond his strength; secondly, that of not giving the capable child work that is hard enough really to test his strength. Even college students probably need the same care in adapting courses of study to their capacities. The student of great capacity who finds it possible to dawdle through college may acquire slovenly habits that will handicap him through life, whereas the weaker student may become completely discouraged and demoralized because of his incapacity to carry a required course. The same observations could probably be made with respect to moral ordeals and tests. The weakling who is subjected to moral tests that are too severe for him may tend toward criminality or some other form of degeneracy. Those who are capable of standing severe tests but are always protected against them will probably

go through life without having established very positive or definite moral standards of any kind.

One of the most important lessons to be learned in the study of sociology is that different people respond differently to the same stimuli or behave differently in the same general situation. Failure may be defined as the incapacity to react favorably to the common stimuli in a normal social life. Some of the specific forms of moral failure will now be studied with a view to judging whether rural people react differently under the ordeals of rural life from the way in which urban people react to the ordeals of urban life.

The leading forms of social failure will be discussed under such headings as sex immorality, venereal disease, illegitimacy, divorce, crime, juvenile delinquency, feeble-mindedness, and poverty.

Sex immorality. As to sex immorality the figures from the states of Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Minnesota[1] show that 83 per cent of the cases of sex immorality were urban and 17 per cent rural. In the closely related subject of venereal diseases the material is rather fragmentary, and statistical statements are not very satisfactory. From the army figures[2] it appears that Vermont, a rural state, had the smallest percentage, 1.3 per cent, while Florida, another rural state, had the highest percentage, 15.6 per cent. The figures are complicated, however, by the fact that a large proportion of this percentage for Florida was found among the negroes. According to L. W. Feezer, assistant director of the division of venereal disease of the Minnesota State Board of Health, the percentage of venereal disease in cities is somewhat larger than in the country. "Out of a series of 3710 cases in which the reporting physician very clearly answered the question as to the nature of the infection, we have therefore been able to determine the correct percentages that fairly represent the actual ratio in which the various classes of sources are responsible for the spreading of venereal disease in Minnesota."[3]

[1] From State Prison Reports for 1922.

[2] Collected by L. W. Feezer, Minnesota State Board of Health.

[3] Venereal Disease Reported in Minnesota — A Statistical Study. American Medical Association, Chicago, 1919.

Reported Sources	Percentages	No. of Cases
Clandestine prostitute	46.8	1736
Commercial prostitute	40.3	1495
Spouse	8.9	331
Congenital syphilis and accidental infection	4.0	148
Total	100.0	3710

Another interesting study of ages was made of 5683 cases.

Ages	Percentages	No. of Cases
20 years and under	14.8	842
21 to 25 years inclusive	22.7	1295
26 to 30 years inclusive	16.0	910
31 to 35 years inclusive	11.4	640
36 to 40 years inclusive	9.2	525
41 to 45 years inclusive	7.0	400
46 to 50 years inclusive	5.9	335
Over 50 years	13.0	736
Total	100.0	5683

Other data of equal value and interest revealed that 27 per cent were females and 73 per cent males, that single persons contributed 61 per cent of the cases, married persons 35 per cent, and widowed or divorced persons 24 per cent.

This same authority says that "no one knows how much venereal disease exists in this or any other country," but various estimates have been made by some competent men which show the syphilitic portion of the population to be between 3 and 15 per cent.

Illegitimacy. Another aspect of the problem of sex immorality is illegitimacy. This has been somewhat more carefully surveyed. Mr. Mangold,[1] in his sociological study of children born out of wedlock, with particular reference to the United States, has gathered some valuable information. He says, "So far as American statistics are available the preponderance of fact is clearly in favor of lower rates of illegitimacy in the rural districts."

According to the Statistical Abstract for 1924, out of a total

[1] George B. Mangold, Children Born out of Wedlock, p. 74. Columbia, Missouri, 1921.

of 1,623,236 births in 1923 there were 37,823 which were illegitimate. These figures do not include California and Massachusetts, which do not require the statement of legitimacy or illegitimacy in their birth certificates.

The relation of rural life to illegitimacy is obscured by various social conditions. In England the rural districts have a larger percentage of illegitimate births than the cities. This does not necessarily mean a lower state of morality in the country than in the city. It may possibly mean less knowledge of contraceptive methods. On the continent of Europe conditions are apparently reversed. Statistics for Bavaria and France show that as the size of towns and cities increases the percentage of illegitimacy rises. In fact, the larger cities have more than twice as large a percentage as the small towns. Similar conditions are found in Austria, Sweden, and Denmark, where the large cities report relatively high rates of illegitimacy.

Because of the limited area within which births and deaths are registered, statistical data for the United States are meager. Therefore little valuable information can be added. Figures from Ohio in 1909 show a rate of 38.8 illegitimate births for 100,000 of the population in cities and 55.2 per 100,000 for the rural sections. In the two largest cities, however, — namely, Cleveland and Cincinnati, — the rate is higher than the general rural rate. In Michigan, on the other hand, the urban rate is more than 50 per cent above that of the rural districts, and the increase rises as the population of the cities increases. In Wisconsin the rate for 1913 for the rural districts is 1.5 illegitimate births out of 100, while in Milwaukee it is 2.7. These figures are somewhat fragmentary, but may indicate something as to the tendencies in the cities mentioned. So far as America is concerned, the available statistics show lower rates of illegitimacy in the country than in the city.

Divorce. The rapidly increasing number of divorces in the United States has been recognized for several decades as one of the great modern social problems. Four general causes have been assigned for this increase: (1) economic causes, which probably account for the largest number; (2) the new social

position of woman, giving her greater independence and more opportunities for making a living; (3) political enfranchisement, which has sometimes led to a desire for emancipation even from home, wifehood, and the restraints of motherhood; (4) mismating, much of which is, of course, imaginary. People who really care to do so can generally get along comfortably together; but if for any reason they do not care to live together, they can always find an excuse in the term "incompatibility" or something of the sort. These excuses range all the way from religious differences to cold feet. Undoubtedly, however, there are some cases of such complete incompatibility as to make married life intolerable.

MALES FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER

	Total	Single	Percentage	Married	Percentage	Widowed	Percentage	Divorced
Urban .	19,695,500	6,982,294	35.5	11,605,237	58.9	897,500	4.6	142,778
Rural .	17,225,163	5,985,271	34.7	10,244,029	59.5	860,808	5.0	92,506

FEMALES FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER

Urban .	19,618,764	5,698,673	29.0	11,310,188	57.6	2,395,622	12.2	186,181
Rural .	15,558,751	3,918,229	25.2	10,008,745	64.3	1,522,003	9.8	87,123

If we distinguish between the causes of divorce and the legal grounds on which divorce is granted, we find that there are several of the latter. The first and most common of these is desertion. About 38 per cent of all divorces are sought on this ground. The husband has deserted the wife or the wife the husband, and the one who is deserted seeks a divorce. Little or no light is thrown on the causes of desertion. Second in the list of causes is adultery; about 28 per cent of the divorces are granted on this ground. Third comes cruelty; 27.5 per cent of the divorces allowed for this cause are granted to wives for cruelty on the part of the husbands, and 10.5 per cent to husbands for cruelty on the part of the wives. The fourth cause is drunkenness; 5.3 per cent are granted to the wife because of the drunkenness of the husband, and 1.1 per cent to the husband because of the drunkenness of the wife.

The table on page 195 shows certain facts regarding marital conditions in the United States, according to the census for 1920 (Vol. II, p. 576).

There seems to be a strong opinion to the effect that rural communities are not so badly afflicted with that form of social unrest that results in divorce as are the urban communities, but the actual difference in the number of divorces is not great enough to enable one to say with certainty that this is the case.

The following table shows the distribution, by percentage, of urban and rural adults in this country.[1]

MALES FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER

	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced
Urban	35.5	58.9	4.6	.007
Rural	34.7	59.5	5.0	.005

FEMALES FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER

Urban	29.0	57.6	12.2	.009
Rural	25.2	64.3	9.8	.005

The problem is complicated also by the fact that native whites show a somewhat larger divorce percentage than do foreign-born whites. The following table may be significant.[2]

DISTRIBUTION OF DIVORCES IN URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITIES BY DIVISIONS

(The figures show the percentages of divorced persons among those fifteen years of age and over)

	New England	Middle Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	South Atlantic	East South Central	West South Central	Mountain	Pacific
URBAN									
Male	0.45	0.29	0.88	0.8	0.4	0.8	1.0	1.2	1.7
Female	0.61	0.39	1.0	1.0	0.7	1.4	1.6	1.6	2.2
RURAL									
Male	0.9	0.32	0.63	0.5	0.27	0.4	0.49	0.9	1.3
Female	0.79	0.3	0.56	0.4	0.38	0.6	0.6	0.8	1.0

[1] See Fourteenth Census, Vol. II, p. 578.

[2] See Fourteenth Census, Vol. II, pp. 579–587.

Rural criminality. Social maladaptation includes not only such moral evils as drunkenness, divorce, and illegitimacy, but also those violent infractions of positive law commonly known as crimes and misdemeanors. Two widely contrasted methods of approach are adopted by various students of the problem of crime. One may be called the case-counting method[1]; the other may be called the general theoretical or philosophical method. By the case-counting method is meant the method of taking each case of crime as it arises and assigning to it its immediate and effective cause. For example, one man commits a crime, and when he is arrested it is found that he was drunk at the time of the commission of the crime. The case-counter — that is, the investigator who pursues this method — writes drunkenness down as the cause of the crime. Another case is explained on the ground that the man was out of work and his family in dire need. Poverty is therefore written down as the cause of this crime. In another case it is found that the criminal was partially insane. And so on. After a large number of cases are thus recorded, they are counted and classified; so many cases are assigned to one cause and so many to another.

Under the general philosophical method the individual, or specific, facts regarding each criminal are ignored, the student trying to learn what are the general factors in the social, economic, or political situation which tend to induce crime. Instead of merely assigning drunkenness as the cause of any one case, he may find, according to his own disposition or preconceived opinion, that the man was drunk because of the commercialized traffic in intoxicating liquors or because an industrial system forces him to work hard and gives him few other enjoyments than drink, or that the lack of eugenic laws permitted the marriage of his parents, who were obviously defective and who therefore should not have been permitted to marry at all. Having been permitted to marry, they begot offspring with defective minds or inherited weaknesses of one kind or another, of which drunkenness is only an outward symptom.

[1] See A. G. Warner's "American Charities," pp. 46 ff. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1908.

In the proper balancing of the case-counting method with the general theoretical method we shall probably arrive at the maximum safety in assigning the causes of crime. Multitudes of people grow up under our present industrial system and endure poverty without becoming either drunken or criminal. Why an individual in question succumbed when others did not must be accounted for, in part at least, on personal grounds. On the other hand, it is altogether probable that many a weak character who succumbs to the hardships imposed by our industrial system might have weathered the storm had it been a little less intense, or if the industrial system had imposed fewer hardships upon him. Even where the manufacture and sale of alcoholic drink is carried on for profit, multitudes of people manage to remain sober and law-abiding. Why the individual in question happened to get drunk and commit crime where others did not is, in part at least, a personal question.

Relation of rural life to crime. In discussing the relation of rural life to crime all these considerations must be kept in mind. Does rural life, more than urban life, predispose to crime? Does it put a more severe strain upon the individual's self-restraint or sense of propriety than city life? In harmony with the foregoing discussion the student should bear in mind that rural life is not *the* cause of crime. The cause of crime is in part personal, but it is conceivable that the conditions of rural life may, in some cases, put a more severe strain upon the individual than the conditions of city life. If so, a larger percentage of individuals would succumb to these temptations in the country than in the city. Because of so many contributing facts, statistics are very difficult to interpret. For example, it appears that, of the total number of criminals, a larger proportion are unmarried than is true of the general population of corresponding ages. It is also true that the great majority of criminals are somewhat youthful; that is, the crimes are committed between the ages of sixteen and thirty rather than earlier or later. If many crimes are committed by boys in their teens, naturally many criminals would be unmarried rather than married. The fact, therefore, that an undue proportion of criminals are un-

married does not in itself signify that getting married tends to make one more obedient to authority. It may simply mean that large numbers of criminals are too young to be married or that it is maturity rather than being married that produces a law-abiding state of mind.

It is also true that there are more criminals who are poor than are rich. This does not necessarily mean that poverty is the cause of crime, and riches the cause of obedience to law. It may simply mean that people who commit crime are generally defective in mental or moral training, and that people who are thus defective are likely to be poor as well as criminal. The feeble-minded person, for example, is pretty certain to be poor and is likely to have little power to resist temptation, and thus may be predisposed both to poverty and to crime. You cannot say in a case of this kind that his poverty is the cause of his crime any more than that his crime is the cause of his poverty, since both are results of his condition of feeble-mindedness.

It is found also that crime increases with the density of population; in other words, it is more prevalent in the city than in the country. That does not necessarily mean that density of population predisposes to crime. It may merely mean that people who are predisposed to crime flock to the cities. It is also found that crimes of violence are more frequent in mining towns and lumber camps than in more settled communities. This, however, does not mean that mining and lumbering predispose men to crime. It may simply mean that these are the occupations to which unstable characters gravitate, and that where you have large numbers of unstable characters you may expect to find a large percentage of criminals. Caution is necessary before we jump to the conclusion that the use of alcohol and other drugs is the cause of crime. An unstable character, a man with an abnormal nervous organization, is more likely than a normal person to be both a drunkard and a criminal. The drunkenness may be no more truly the cause of his criminality than his criminality is the cause of his drunkenness, since both may be the normal results of his abnormal nervous condition.

Relative prevalence of crime in city and country. As to the relative prevalence of crime in rural and urban districts no one is able to speak with great authority, because of the lack of sufficiently reliable statistics. One difficulty is that different localities have different standards, and in one place a man may be arrested for a minor violation, and his case go on record, whereas in another community his case may be overlooked by the authorities and never go on record. It appears that in the poorly policed rural districts minor misdemeanors are overlooked more frequently than in the well-policed cities. This may account for the apparent fact that there are more arrests for minor misdemeanors in cities than in rural districts. A study of the police records of various localities shows a lack of uniformity in keeping account of arrests and in recording the nature of the offenses. There are certain crimes, of course, like horse-stealing, that are, or were, distinctly rural rather than urban. It appears also that certain other crimes, such as rape, and assault and battery, are more common in the country than the city, whereas burglary, robbery, hold-ups, and so forth are more numerous in the cities than in the country districts.

Juvenile delinquency. Juvenile delinquency is another symptom of maladaptation. In this respect the United States compares rather unfavorably with other civilized countries. The sterner discipline inflicted upon the youth of other countries, and the harder conditions of living, probably have a sobering influence. At any rate, the fact remains that in this country we have more than our proportion of juvenile offenders against law. It is somewhat startling to realize that over 6,000,000 young people were brought into court in a single year (1923). In the city of Milwaukee 12,000 appeared before the juvenile court in one year, and 190 appeared before the same court in the same city in one week.[1] The most reliable figures available in regard to the distribution of juvenile delinquents seem to show that about 65 per cent of all juvenile delinquents are in urban communities, 25 per cent in villages and towns, and the

[1] From figures compiled by J. R. Batchelor, Duluth, Minnesota.

remaining 10 per cent in strictly rural districts.[1] It appears, therefore, that there is very much less juvenile delinquency in the country than in the city.

We must be cautious, however, about jumping to hasty conclusions. Something depends upon the standards of the locality. A boy who would steal apples or watermelons in the country may not be arrested and brought before a court, whereas if he did the same thing in another form by robbing a fruit stand in a city, he would probably be arrested if caught. Morally it is doubtless as bad to steal fruit from a farmer's orchard as from a fruit stand or a store. It is more likely to be assumed in the country that it is natural for boys to steal, or, even if it is not so regarded, it is more difficult to catch the boy in the country, where there are no policemen. There may be as much actual delinquency among country boys as among town boys, but the court figures show fewer arrests in the country than in the city.

The problem of poverty. Until the world can be made over, until it furnishes a perfect home for the human race, or until the human race can be made over until it fits perfectly into the material world, there will always be maladaptation; that is, there will always be people who are misfits in any part of the world. We are concerned in this chapter primarily with rural misfits, that is, with those individuals who are unable to adapt themselves to the conditions of rural life, and who therefore either fail, break down, or run amuck.

Aside from the question of delinquency of various kinds there is the ever-present question of pauperism. In the country anyone who can do any kind of muscular work can generally find employment and an opportunity to supply his physical needs. Only the very young, the very old, the feeble-minded, or the insane are likely to be in a position of dependence. In the more highly specialized life of the city, however, other forms of maladaptation may be the cause of extreme poverty. The poetic figure of the genius starving in the garret is an urban rather than a rural concept. No matter how much skill one may happen to

[1] See Paul L. Vogt's "Introduction to Rural Sociology," p. 215.

possess of a specialized kind, if there are more people possessing that kind of skill than are needed, some of them will be unemployed and therefore in a condition of poverty. If, for example, there should be more weavers than are necessary to weave all the yarn the spinners can spin, some of the weavers will be unemployed. Their unemployment will not be due to their lack of capacity or skill but to the fact that there are not spinners enough to supply them with yarn. Poverty and dependency in urban communities are quite as likely to result from such causes as from physical or mental weakness on the part of the individual. Rural communities, with their less congested life and less highly specialized industries, are relatively free from this form of dependency.

The problem of the unfit. There is one great and serious menace to rural life, and in fact to our entire civilization, in the facility with which weaklings are sometimes permitted to breed in country districts. If they have muscular energy to sell, they can find work on farms. If they are satisfied with the mere means of subsistence, they can marry and multiply on meager incomes, and thus breed new generations of weaklings to cumber the ground. Old communities where rural people have lived for many generations, especially if because of poor soil the more progressive and wide-awake farmers have moved away, sometimes develop into veritable country slums peopled by weaklings who manage to eke out a physical existence and to multiply as animals multiply. Even many of the prosperous rural communities have an element of this kind, a sort of undergrowth, or, as one writer has expressed it, "Devil Grass that underruns the rest of society and lives more or less in the shadow of the more vigorous population." The tendency of such people to multiply on inadequate incomes and with very little prevision of the future constitutes a serious social problem in many of our rural sections. Such studies as those of Dugdale, M'Culloch, Goddard, and Danielson and Davenport, which describe respectively such masses of poverty and degeneration as are found in "The Jukes," "The Tribe of Ishmael," "The Kallikak Family," and "The Hill Folk of Massachusetts," reveal what may hap-

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pen in any rural community if such people are permitted to multiply without restraint for a number of generations.

The feeble-minded. One of the most frequent forms of maladaptation is feeble-mindedness, as shown in the following quotation:

In a pamphlet entitled "The Menace of the Feeble-minded" Mr. G. C. Hanna, Superintendent of the Minnesota School for the Feeble-minded, portrays the danger to civilization which lies in the ever-increasing number of mental defectives. Mental deficiency is, in part, due to physical causes, in which both the brain tissue and the chemistry of the blood stream are involved. Medical science has as yet little to offer in the building up or restoration of intelligence in the mentally deficient.

Meanwhile our civilization is being threatened by the presence of large numbers of mental defectives. The prison populations are found to contain from 30 to 80 per cent of definitely feeble-minded individuals, besides many insane, epileptics, and drug addicts. The Bankers' Association estimates that crime costs us more than twice as much as we spend on public elementary and high-school education, and if we add to that the cost of feeble-mindedness, insanity, epilepsy, and pauperism, the total is more than half the value of the products of all our farms. Examination of prostitutes at Newport News during the war showed 88 per cent to be below the mental age of eleven, and 15 per cent of the whole group showed other abnormalities, such as dementia præcox, epilepsy, drug addiction, and alcoholism. Our schools are being forced to lower their standards by the number of children who are forced by the school-attendance laws to remain in school beyond the age at which their mental development ceases. The army tests indicate that approximately one third of our people are below the mental age of twelve, and another third between the ages of twelve and fourteen mentally; and when such persons are kept in school until sixteen or eighteen, the standards of the schools cannot be kept high.

Feeble-mindedness, which is found in such an undue proportion in the underworld, is highly hereditary. Generally the intelligence level seems hereditary. Eminent men rarely fail to show family trees containing other eminent persons. The plea that hard work and perseverance may make up for lack of special talent is specious, for perseverance is itself an inherited trait. Those philanthropists who have believed that the qualities of the slum dwellers were due to their environment have sometimes been painfully surprised to

find that such people, when provided with decent living quarters, valued the bathtub more as a potato or coal bin than as an adjunct to cleanliness. Modern conditions help the feeble-minded to get along. Probably the 10 per cent of the population which is under ten years mentally receives most of the money spent for charitable purposes, and many families receive help from six or eight organizations.

Modern conditions make the feeble-minded more dangerous to society. Many of the automobile accidents are chargeable to the 17 or 18 per cent of drivers testing below eleven years mentally. Many cases of feeble-mindedness are brought to light by welfare agencies, and many other cases of higher grade go unrecognized, especially in the case of women who are not forced to compete in the commercial world, but who carry on the taint to the next generation. Society must consider means of drying up the spring which is the source of so many social evils.

Remedies suggested by Dr. Hanna are prisons equipped with psychopathic laboratories and managed by officials who are politically independent and have the rank and pay of college presidents; life confinement of those who escape sentence for crime on the plea of mental deficiency; classified schools, where different kinds of training can be provided for children of differing mental abilities as determined by intelligence tests; removal of the prohibition on employment of children who have received all the education they are capable of assimilating; more adequate examination of immigrants; marriage certification; sterilization of mental defectives; life commitment of mentally defective offenders; segregation of those who are unsafe in society even after sterilization; discontinuance of parole during the child-bearing years; and mental tests in industry and the training of teachers to recognize the higher-grade feeble-minded. Since about half of the present generation are the offspring of mothers whose mental age is less than twelve, the intelligent people of the country must soon inaugurate a plan, if they wish to insure the survival of the mentally fit instead of the unfittest.[1]

This form of maladaptation is especially dangerous to rural life. In a country where competent labor commands such high wages as are paid in the United States, even a feeble-minded person, especially if he is physically strong, can earn enough to supply his simple and elementary wants. He can even marry, if

[1] Quoted by permission from the *Eugenical News*, February, 1926.

he can find a feeble-minded woman who will marry him. Such couples usually have larger families than their more intelligent neighbors. If such a condition is permitted to continue for several generations, the feeble-minded may outnumber the intelligent element of the population.

Looking into the future. This degeneration of the population because of the rapid multiplication of people of low intelligence and the slow rate of multiplication of those of high intelligence is thought by some writers to have been the leading cause of the decline of ancient civilizations, and to render almost certain the ultimate decline of our own. Whatever other causes there may be or may have been for the decline of civilization, this one is at least worthy of careful consideration. The German writer Otto Seeck,[1] the American writers David Starr Jordan,[2] E. A. Ross,[3] Madison Grant,[4] and others, have expounded this doctrine. Although their writings have made a deep impression on the thoughtful, they have not been taken seriously by the unthinking multitudes or by the ultracritical who will not accept anything until it is demonstrated beyond any possible doubt. The difficulty with this ultracritical attitude is that it leads to inaction until every possible doubt is removed. By that time it will, in all probability, be too late to correct the evil if it should be found to exist.

It is probably the part of wisdom to act upon the preponderance of evidence. It looks as if the menace of the feeble-minded were a real one, — as if, on the whole, the progeny of feeble-minded parents were below the mental average of the whole population. If that is true, it follows of mathematical necessity that the large families of the feeble-minded will lower the average of the whole population, and that if their rapid multiplication is prevented, the average will not be lowered so rapidly, and may be maintained or even raised.

[1] Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt. Simenroth & Troschel, Berlin, 1898.

[2] The Blood of the Nation. American Unitarian Association, 1910.

[3] Changing America. The Century Co., 1912.

[4] The Passing of the Great Race. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916.

QUESTIONS

1. A few centuries ago the English criminal law was very severe, there being upward of sixty offenses for which the death penalty was inflicted. Was this a means of improving or debasing the stock of the English people?

2. Discuss the efficacy of drunkenness and other vices as fool-killers.

3. Would it be possible to make progress if there were no failures?

4. Is it enough to say in defense of a given line of conduct that it is "natural" for men to behave in that way?

5. A certain man beat his wife and was haled into court. At the trial it was found that he was drunk at the time. One person, commenting on the case, said that the man beat his wife because he was drunk. Another said he was drunk because of some inherited weakness; therefore this was the real cause of his beating his wife. Another said he was drunk because somebody who made money by selling drink, and hence was interested in pushing the sale, had sold him the whiskey which made him drunk; therefore the profits system was the cause of his beating his wife. Still another pointed out that large numbers of other men lived under the profits system without either getting drunk or beating their wives; therefore there must have been something wrong with this man or he would not have reacted in that particular way.

Which, if any, of these various views do you accept? Give your reasons. If you reject them all and have another theory, give your reasons for it.

6. Is there any moral difference between stealing fruit from the man who grows it and stealing fruit from the dealer who has bought it? Give your reasons.

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CHAPTER IX

THE RURAL COMMUNITY: HOW IT FUNCTIONS

Focusing attention on the rural community. All studies of rural life must focus in the rural community. As pointed out in a previous chapter, the individual cannot even be visualized apart from his social environment. He is as definitely a product of his social environment as the social environment is a product of the individuals that compose it. As Kipling puts it, "For the strength of the Pack is the Wolf, and the strength of the Wolf is the Pack."

Ordinarily the urban community is incorporated, with a government of its own, a large list of public officials, and considerable public property. The rural community has no such definite or elaborate organization. Its boundaries are usually not so concisely marked, and yet whatever social life rural people have is a kind of community life. It is as real, though it may not be as easily defined, as the community life of urban people.

What is a community? A community is a number of persons living in one place and working together for certain common ends. The place in which they live is a definite area, large or small, as the case may be. These persons must be close enough together to communicate easily, and actually to coördinate their activities for common purposes. The common ends for which they work need not include all or even a large fraction of their activities. There must be something, however, which they are seeking in common. It may be defense against enemies, the maintenance of roads and schools, or the conducting of religious worship, or it may include all these and many other things.

The pioneer community may be made up of families which are engaged for the most part in distinctly family affairs. It is not a real community, however, unless they are doing at least

one thing in common, even if that one thing is nothing more than providing for defense against enemies or the observance of certain religious ceremonies. If they do at least one thing in common, there is an organization for common purpose, and that makes a community. Families may, of course, have many common purposes, — they may even go to the extreme of having what is called a communistic life, — but the maintenance of an organized government is the practically universal purpose of all communities.

As suggested above, the community may be large or small, both in area and in numbers. Communities range all the way from the smallest neighborhood, where there is some common activity or a common interest, to the largest nation. Even international communities may exist. We frequently speak of Christendom, implying that there is a community, larger than any single nation, which includes all those portions of the world in which there is a common purpose to maintain the ideals of Christianity. It is even conceivable that we may sometime be able to speak of the whole world as a community organized for the purpose of preserving or enforcing peace.

One community may include another, wholly or in part; that is, one community may include a large number of small ones, or communities may overlap and the same person may belong to several communities. The people living in one place may be interested in recreation and may organize for that purpose. Some of the people belonging to this community may also belong to another which is organized for the support of a common religion, or for road-building, or for some other purpose.

What is a rural community? The rural community is, in part at least, a territorial group. A number of individuals scattered throughout a large population, bound together by class interests but having no geographical or neighborhood interests, would not constitute a rural community. City people may sometimes forget their geographical relations to one another, and have nothing in common with their immediate neighbors, preferring to associate with people of their own kind as determined by religion, culture, occupation, or other nongeographical interests.

Even they could scarcely speak of these class or religious groups as communities unless they were in part neighborhood groups. Country people are commonly so widely separated in space as to make it impossible for them to ignore proximity in choosing their associates. Land, geography, and proximity or distance figure so largely in their lives that they scarcely think of groups being other than geographical, or, at least, other groups do not figure so definitely in their plans as do geographical groups. Thus community life necessarily has a geographical setting.

It is the opinion of some of the wisest social workers of our cities that urban social life will never be satisfactory until the neighborhood idea is reëstablished there. Accordingly they are organizing neighborhood clubs, neighborhood enterprises and interests, in order to get city people interested in one another, and thus to break up the factions, cliques, castes, and social strata into which too many city populations tend to divide themselves. In this respect the rural social worker has the advantage. The neighborhood spirit is still alive, or, if it is not, rural people at least know what a neighborhood is and do not have to have it explained to them.

Origin of the community. For the origin of the community we must look to those factors that brought people together in groups. The facts of reproduction are probably the primitive factors in group life. Even bacteriologists speak of colonies of bacteria. Not having a common purpose, these colonies of bacteria are not communities in the sociological sense; that is, they are merely physical groups. The human family, at least the children of one mother, however, are a natural and primitive group created by the physical facts of reproduction. When this physical group becomes conscious of a common purpose and organizes itself for the pursuit of this purpose, it becomes a family in the sociological sense. Such a family is really a community, — perhaps the smallest and most primitive of all communities. No one knows surely just how the first communities were formed. The physiological family would supply the physical basis, but whether the physical family was organized for a common purpose or not is unknown. On the basis of historical

conjecture it seems reasonable to suppose that it was, in some cases at least, organized for a common purpose.

Infancy in the human species is more prolonged than in any other.[1] That is to say, the period of infancy, dependence, and growth occupies a larger proportion of the total of life in the individual of the human species than in that of any other. The very preservation of the species, therefore, requires that adults shall care for children during a longer period than is necessary with any other species. Those adults who are most likely to show sufficient interest to look after children are those who have the best reason for doing so. First, it was undoubtedly the mother who had to nourish them. Later, when paternity was known, the father also helped to support them, though the custom of requiring the father to support his own children belongs to a relatively advanced stage of development. This seems to force upon the human species a kind of family group life. When we consider that several children were born to the primitive mother before the eldest was ready to shift for itself, as is the case with many of the lower animals, we shall understand that some sort of group life was forced upon our primitive ancestors. It is also pretty certain that grandchildren would begin to appear in this primitive family before the mother had passed beyond the child-bearing period. This would tend to enlarge the group. In the case of polygamy, where there were many wives and a considerable number of children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, the family might come to be a fairly large group. Hence it is commonly supposed that descent from a common ancestor furnished a reason for holding together a considerable group of people.

There are reasons for believing that groups were sometimes formed by the accidental gathering together around a common source of food, such as a run of fish. In other cases large numbers were brought together by a natural wonder, such as a burning gas well, a mineral spring, or a gigantic tree. The expression of wonderment in worship would then furnish a common interest

[1] John Fiske, Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy, Part II, chap. xxii, pp. 340–348, 360–362. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1874.

that might become the basis of community life. Preserving the memory or the worship of revered ancestors would furnish another. If the members of this primitive family did not scatter, but continued to live in the same geographical area in close contact with one another, they would form a community when any of these common interests developed.

Not all communities have the same origin. It is not necessary to assume that all primitive communities had precisely the same origin. Anything that brings people together into physical groups, whether it be the facts of reproduction or some historical accident, may result in a community in the strict sense. Any kind of physical group that develops a common interest and a common activity in the promotion of that interest becomes a community. A number of people shipwrecked on an island and compelled to work together for safety, food, or companionship would form a community. A number of people attracted to a certain spot for any cause, if they remain long enough to develop a common interest and to organize for a common activity to further that interest, constitute a community.

Many of our modern rural communities, while far from being primitive, have had more or less accidental origins. A group of people from widely separated parts of the world may have taken claims to government land under our system of land surveys that laid the land out in checkerboard fashion and established rectangular townships. They came together seeking land. After they had made the settlement, they soon developed common interests and found it necessary to engage in common activities. Thus they became modern rural communities. Most rural communities in our Middle and Western states were started in this way. In other cases a group of people with a common interest already developed have organized for the promotion of that interest and have emigrated in a body as colonizers. In such a case the common interest existed before they settled in the same place. Many of the New England towns were made in this way.

Two types of modern rural communities. Modern rural communities are of two distinct types, one of which is known as the village community, the other as the community of scattered

farmsteads. If it is a village community, the villagers are engaged in rural pursuits; but instead of living on their individual farms they have homes in the villages, going to their farms to work by day and returning to the villages for the night. In many parts of the Old World this is still the prevailing type of rural community. In the United States, however, the prevailing type is the community of scattered farms. In fact, it is practically the universal type except in parts of New England and in those parts of the Rocky Mountain regions where the influence of the Mormon religion prevails. In these sections the farm village is common.

Historically the rural village is older than the community of scattered farmsteads. Even in the hunting and pastoral stages men lived in groups rather than in isolated families. In some cases, however, the family group consisted not simply of father, mother, and children but of all the descendants of a common ancestor for several generations. Even our American Indians lived in villages, though they moved their villages from place to place in pursuit of subsistence.

The principal reason for the prevalence of village life during the primitive stages of development was the need of protection. So long as the factor of safety was an important one the rural village prevailed and the community of scattered farmsteads was impossible. In many cases this condition prevailed even after the tribe had developed out of the pastoral into the strictly agricultural stage. In many parts of New England the village prevailed over the scattered farms because of the necessity of common defense. This was probably also a factor in the prevalence of farm villages among the Mormons. In the early days of their pioneer settlements, safety was a more compelling factor than economy.

Safety, however, was not the only factor in promoting the village. The opportunities for an agreeable community life are somewhat greater in the farm village than in the community of scattered farmsteads. Here we find a balancing of motives. Ordinarily some time is saved by living on the farm instead of in a neighboring village. Not so much time and energy are wasted

in traveling back and forth. This reason would favor the development of communities of scattered farmsteads. On the other hand, the social motive would lead to the development of farm villages. Where the social motive is strong, it dominates the strictly economic motive, and villages prevail. Where the social motive is weak and the economic motive strong, communities of scattered farmsteads prevail.

In the early New England colonies many settlements were made by church congregations which were organized and led by the minister. In these communities the church was the center of the community life, and the tendency was for the colonists to settle near the church. In other words, the social or a socio-religious motive outweighed the strictly economic motive. In this respect the Mormon communities resembled the early New England communities. In addition to the two reasons already given, many of the New England colonists were already familiar in the Old World with the rural village, and unfamiliar with the community of scattered farmsteads. Many of our later immigrants also, especially those who came from peasant communities of England and the Scandinavian countries, were more familiar with farm villages than with scattered farmsteads. Still another factor should be mentioned, namely, that both in New England and in the Mormon communities the land policy favored small rather than large farms. The plantation system of the South would have made the farm-village idea practically impossible. Where farms of large area prevail, it is difficult for the workers to live in villages and go out to the farms by day. The distances are too great. Where small farms prevail, however, a village is at least a possibility.

When one considers that there is room for sixty-four farms of 40 acres each in an area 2 miles square, and that the most remote farms would be not more than a mile and a half, counting angles, from the center, he will understand how little loss of time would result if sixty or more small farmers and their families were to live in a small village and go out to their farms every working day. On the other hand, when one realizes that sixty-four farms of 640 acres each would require an area 8 miles

square, and that some of the more remote of these farms would lie, counting angles, at least six miles from the center, he will realize how wasteful of time it would be for all these farmers and their families to live in a central village.

Chief reason for prevalence of scattered farm communities. The most powerful reason, however, for the general prevalence, throughout this country, of communities of scattered farmsteads is found in the method adopted by the Federal government for disposing of its public lands. Even before the Homestead Law was passed, the influence of the government was thrown on the side of scattered farmhouses. Under the Preëmption Act the man who had actually settled on the piece of land was given precedence over all others in its purchase. This gave land-hungry persons an overwhelming reason for settling on the land which they hoped to purchase, and thus practically compelled them to adopt the system of scattered farmsteads. Under the Homestead Law this was made still more definite. The only way by which a man could obtain the title to a quarter section of government land was by living on it for five years and cultivating a portion of it. This made the farm village impossible, at least in the early stages. After a man had lived on his farm for five years, built his house, and made other improvements, he would naturally continue to live on his land rather than to move into the village. This powerful reason supplemented the economic reason mentioned above, and has made most of rural America a region of scattered farmsteads.

Larger industrial communities. It sometimes happens that a large area of production, such as the corn belt, the cotton belt, the wheat belt, and so forth, or the people living within this belt and engaged in a similar industry, may constitute a community. Ordinarily, however, they do not. There may be a common interest among the corn-growers in the corn belt, but not until there is some organized activity to promote that interest can we speak of the corn-belt community. However, there are certain small areas of production of highly specialized products which seem to develop into communities. The cranberry-growers of Cape Cod, the growers of cantaloupes in some

Southwestern valleys, the apple-growers of certain Northwestern counties, the potato-growers of Aroostook County, Maine, are among many that could be named. "The cotton kingdom" is a term that was once used in a manner to imply that the whole cotton area had a certain community life or certain common interests which it was organized to promote, though this was probably an exaggeration. In a similar vein we sometimes speak of portions of the Far West as "the irrigated empire," and of eastern Washington as "the inland empire."

A school sometimes the center of a community. The support of a school sometimes furnishes an interest around which a genuine community life can be built. "The school community" is a term which might be used in such a case. When the school interest becomes sufficiently intense, it may so direct the activities and motivate the minds of the rising generation as to result, in the course of time, in an almost ideal community. Examples of this are not wanting. Two may be selected, not because they are unique, but because they have had the good fortune to be well described by Miss Emily Hoag, working under the auspices of the United States Department of Agriculture. These communities are Ellisburg, New York, and French Creek, West Virginia. In each case a school of distinct and superior merit was the unifying factor and source of a common interest that brought the minds of the people of the neighborhood into harmony and enabled them to work in unison. In addition the school reacted upon the ideals of the whole neighborhood and gave a tone to community life that made it attractive to individuals possessing high ideals.

The church often the center of a community. A church, a temple, a shrine, or other sacred object has sometimes become the center of community life. It has furnished the one subject of common interest with a sufficiently strong appeal to overcome the explosive tendencies in human nature, or to give the people a cohesive principle which would enable them to work for a common purpose. Pilgrims to a shrine, coming from various quarters, with many diverse interests, and bringing with them a natural suspicion of strangers, may find in a common religious relation-

ship a basis for fraternization. Permanent dwellers near such a shrine have a still stronger position. Even ancient trade, to a greater degree than is popularly admitted, was dependent upon the peace and safety created by proximity to a sacred place, sometimes the only place where people could meet without fear of war or violence. In early Christian times the church became such an object of respect and veneration that even hereditary enemies called a truce whenever they met in the neighborhood of a church. Thus the basis for community life was created by an object of veneration. The close proximity of God's acre has sometimes helped to create a common interest and support of community life in western America.

A somewhat extreme development of the community spirit is found in the numerous communistic societies that have been formed in various parts of the United States. For reasons which are not difficult to understand most of these societies were intensely religious in character. The leading examples are the Shakers, the Separatists of Zoar, Ohio, the Amana Society in Iowa, the Bishop Hill Colony in Illinois, and the various Bruederhof communities in South Dakota. Among the nonreligious communities the only ones that lasted long enough to have a history were the Brook Farm Community in West Roxbury, Massachusetts, the North American Phalanx in New Jersey, the New Harmony Experiment in Indiana, and the Icaria Society first at Nauvoo, Illinois, and later at Icaria, Iowa. These were all rural communities, but most of them failed because they tried to carry the community spirit too far or to leave too little to the initiative of individual families.

The market place often the center of a community. The market place is frequently the center of community life. Before the days of cheap transportation, producers and consumers had to live within hauling distance of each other. Where they met to exchange goods became a most important place in their lives, for they not only transacted business there but met their fellow men and enjoyed a kind of social life. Perhaps the most important single instance of such a place was the Roman forum. This was the market place where peasants and citizens met for

purposes of trade. Here they learned the art of working together on a basis of voluntary agreement among freemen, and out of this art grew the great Roman republic. Having learned that great enterprises could be carried out by voluntary agreement rather than by authority and obedience, they simply applied this to political affairs, and the result was democracy. This method proved to be so superior to the method of authority and obedience which prevailed elsewhere that the Roman forum grew to be the center of the civilized world. In many less conspicuous cases the market place has become a center of the life of the rural community.

Recreation activities the center of some communities. Recreational communities, perhaps, should be mentioned as somewhat specialized types of rural communities. The presence of a race track brings together a considerable number of men interested in horse racing. The presence of a trout stream, a mountain view, or a playground may have a similar result. A recreational community is found where a number of people assemble to play or to watch other people play, to rest, to recuperate, to sing, to listen to lectures, or even to bet on horse races. It is seldom, however, that recreation alone creates a community. Lindsburg, Kansas, is famous in the surrounding country for its annual singing of "The Messiah." It would perhaps be too much to say that Lindsburg is a recreational community, yet this form of recreation gives it distinctive character. There are many rural neighborhoods in the South that are more clearly distinguished by certain recreational activities of a high type than by anything else. In rural Wales also many communities are distinguished more for their annual eisteddfods than for anything else. The best historical example of a recreational community is undoubtedly the Olympian games, which for centuries were the center of Greek life, thought, and art.

The rural community and provincialism. Like everything else, community spirit is capable of overdevelopment. There is at least a theoretical possibility that any community may become so intensely interested in its own peculiar affairs as to forget that there is a world outside. Even where the community

spirit does not reach this stage of intensity there is a possibility of what is commonly called provincialism.

Before condemning everything that can be brought under the name of provincialism, it is well to consider exactly what it means. A provincial community is one that is proud of itself and willing to set its own standards rather than to imitate the rest of the world. In matters of feminine attire Paris is highly provincial. It sets its own standards and does not imitate the styles of any other part of the world. A large part of the rest of the world merely imitates Paris. If, however, a community should be found that did not imitate Paris, but set its own styles, that community would be called provincial, and other people who do not have enough originality to set their own standards, and who therefore have to imitate Paris, might ridicule this provincial community. Nevertheless, there is an element of strength in this kind of provincialism. Well within sight of the Eiffel Tower you will find rural communities that are provincial in this sense, — peasant communities in which the women pay no attention to the styles of Paris, because they think poorly of Paris and rather well of themselves.

It is a difficult question to decide whether the provincialism of the French peasant is a thing to encourage in rural America or not. The rural community that would set its own standards, not only in matters of dress but in many other particulars, would possess certain elements of strength, provided its standards were rational and sensible. Provincialism is merely an intensification of the community spirit. Just how intense the community spirit should be is a problem of balance, in the solution of which we cannot make use of any instrument of precision. It must therefore remain for a long time largely a matter of taste and judgment.

Disappearance of rural communities. Many rural communities that formerly existed have disappeared; that is, the community life has disappeared because of the lack of a common interest and an organization to promote that interest. Where there formerly were schools, churches, blacksmith shops, and stores there is none left. The people who still desire such things

must go to another center. It may be that the old community spirit is dead, but there is a possibility at least that the center of community life has moved, or shifted to another spot. There are two reasons for thinking that it is the latter. First, the declining rural population, especially the juvenile population. This no doubt accounts for the dwindling of the country-school population. Secondly, the coming of the automobile and the consequent improvement of roads. This enables people to travel longer distances and thus shift the center of community interest from the local neighborhood or community to a larger neighborhood

or community. The consolidated school is only one symptom of the general shifting of the center of community interest.

The functions of the rural community. There are at least ten important functions which a rural community should perform when at its best. In many cases some of these are performed well, and others badly or not at all, and in some extreme cases the community is so lacking in organization and community spirit as practically to fail to perform any of them. Five of these may be classed as economic and five as social. In order that any of these functions may be performed adequately, there must be a community spirit or a real sense of interdependence between the individual and the community, coupled with a genuine desire to see the economic and social conditions of the

community improved. An effective organization in addition to the community spirit is a great help.

These ten functions have been classified by Professor Walter Burr, on page 9 of his excellent book entitled "Rural Organization,"[1] according to the diagram on page 220.

Unless the members of the community perceive the need of each of these functions, of course nothing will be done. Even after some of them see the need, failure may still result from their inability to arouse action on the part of the rest of the community.

The need for organization. It ought not to be difficult to convince the farmers of any community that they need organization.[2] There is probably not a farming community in the United States that would not gain in some respects by an effective organization. Those who cannot or will not work together are always in a weak position when brought into competition with those who can and do. Teamwork counts as much in business competition as in athletic contests; but the teamwork, in either case, needs to be wisely directed according to a well-considered plan.

Let us first acknowledge the excellent work already done by a number of farmers' organizations. They have undertaken a stupendous task, and they have grappled with it courageously. There are about six and one-half million farmers in the United States, who are widely scattered and have a great diversity of interests. Farmers are temperamentally an independent, individualistic class, and therefore difficult to organize. In view of these facts it is not difficult to understand why the progress in organization has been slow.

This is a country of small farmers. One thing which threatens the prosperity and even the existence of the small farmer is the handicap under which he finds himself in buying and selling. The big farmer who can buy and sell in large quantities, and also employ expert talent in buying and selling and in securing

[1] The Macmillan Company, 1921.

[2] See "The Organization of a Rural Community," by T. N. Carver, in the United States Department of Agriculture Yearbook for 1914.

credit, has an advantage over the small farmer who must give his attention mainly to the growing of crops rather than to selling them. Much of the supposed economy of large-scale production, even in merchandising and in manufacturing, has been found to consist wholly in the advantage gained in buying and selling. When it comes to the work of growing farm crops, as distinct from selling them and buying raw materials, the one-family farm is the most efficient unit that has yet been found. It would therefore seem desirable, from the standpoint of national efficiency, to preserve the small farm as the productive unit, but to organize a number of small farms into larger units for buying and selling. Thus we should have the most efficient scheme both for producing and for buying and selling.

If this is not done, the only farmers who can enter successfully into the production of agricultural specialties, where the problem of marketing is greater than the problem of producing, will be the big farmers. The small farmer may hold his own in the growing of staple crops, in which field the problem of efficient production is perhaps greater than that of successful marketing. The reason for this is that there is a well-organized market for staple crops, and the problem of marketing is therefore somewhat less difficult than in the case of agricultural specialties. But even in the growing of staple crops the small farm will have a hard time if it is forced to compete with the big farm cultivated by gangs of cheap laborers. The two worst enemies of the small farmer are the opponents of coöperative buying and selling, on the one hand, and the advocates of enlarged immigration to the rural districts, on the other. The latter would help the big farmer in the buying of labor for his farm, and reduce the price of the small farmer's own labor when he undertook to sell it in the form of produce.

Organized production. Our plan for the organization of a rural community begins with the work of production. The greater part of the actual work of production can probably be carried on most economically on individual farms of a size that can be cultivated mainly by the labor of one family. This calls for very little coöperation or organization. But the study

of the problems of production can undoubtedly be carried on most effectively in coöperation. If a hundred men in a community are all studying the problem of growing the crops of that community, but if each man studies alone and does not exchange ideas with his neighbors, each man profits only by his own study. If, however, the farmers meet frequently to discuss their common problems and to exchange ideas, each man profits by the study of all his neighbors. Again, much of the work of organized marketing must begin before there is anything to sell. It must begin with production. To get a community to grow a uniform product such as consumers demand requires a community organization to standardize its production. Again, to stimulate rivalry in improving the products of a community, both as to quality and quantity, requires an organization to recognize and show some appreciation of merit.

Standardizing products. The problem of marketing farm produce is now attracting considerable public attention. The problem of economic and efficient marketing is largely a problem of selling by grade rather than by inspection. As long as the farmer can haul his produce to town and allow the consumer to examine it, this method of selling on inspection is satisfactory. When, however, the producer lives at a great distance from the consumer, this method becomes expensive, — first, because the process of inspection has to be repeated by several middlemen, and, secondly, because it is physically impossible to handle goods on a large scale. Wherever there is a highly efficient system of selling anything, it will be found that there has been developed a system of grading and standardizing; that is, the goods are graded and are inspected only once.

Since farmers live under the same inexorable economic laws as other people, they will never be able to market their products with the maximum economy until they have the proper organization and proper standards. Coöperation is not a magical scheme by which poor products or products which consumers do not want can be sold at a good price. To begin with, the products must be such as to please the consumer, and they must be so uniform in quality as to give the consumer confidence.

The products of a multitude of small farmers can be made uniform as to grading and packing by organization, and by organization alone. It is a waste of time and breath even to talk about it on any other basis.

Breeding enterprises. Too much emphasis can hardly be laid on the importance of organized promotion of breeding enterprises. So long as this is left wholly to individual breeders, each one working alone, no great headway can be made by small farmers with little capital. Only those men who are in a position to invest heavily and advertise widely can do much in this direction. American farmers have accomplished something in the way of establishing new breeds of swine and poultry. Since these forms of live stock multiply more rapidly than any others, it does not take long to establish a breed. Outside of these two branches of animal husbandry our achievements are very limited. At present it is doubtful if it can honestly be said that we have established a single new breed of cattle, sheep, or horses. We have depended mainly upon importation from abroad, and in spite of the millions of dollars which have been expended for imported breeding stock, there is probably no European country which has so much poor stock as the United States, and there are not many where the average is so low.

One reason for our indifferent success in animal breeding has been the lack of neighborhood organization. Where a whole community is interested in the same breed of live stock, there is a wider basis of selection than where only one farm is given over to that breed. A wider basis of selection makes possible more scientific mating. Moreover, a neighborhood enterprise of this kind gives greater permanency and continuity than is otherwise possible.

In this country it usually happens that by the time a successful breeder has built up a superior herd, stud, or flock, he is growing old, his sons have moved to town, and his animals are scattered. These animals may do something toward improving the general average of the animals of the community, but this is by no means certain. There are many chances that they will be crossed with other breeds, and the general tendency of hap-

hazard crossbreeding is to produce mongrels. If it happened that the whole community was engaged in developing the same breed, the animals of the successful breeder would probably remain in the same neighborhood and be crossed with others of the same stock. When this happened, the work of the individual breeder would not be lost. Under our present highly individualistic methods the farmer who enters upon a breeding enterprise frequently makes the initial mistake of selecting some breed which is new to his community, in order that he may have something different from his neighbors. It is safe to say that a neighborhood whose farmers behave in this absurd manner will never become distinguished for the excellence of its live stock or of its field crops.

Another reason for our failure in animal-breeding has already been suggested, — the lack of stability of the average American farm family. If a breeding farm remains in the same family for several generations, there is time to build up a superior herd, stud, or flock. In the United States this does not often happen. The sons of a successful breeder frequently go to a city to enter upon an urban business or profession. But even this instability of the farm family, which prevents the continuation of breeding enterprises over long periods of time, is in large measure due to a lack of rural organization. This will be discussed more fully under the organization of the social interests of farm communities; but it may be permitted at this point to call attention to the fact that well-to-do people leave the farms because the country does not furnish them the means of social and intellectual enjoyment which they crave.

A very definite advantage in neighborhood organization for the breeding of farm animals has been realized already in many communities. This is the opportunity which such an organization affords for the purchase and maintenance of expensive breeding animals. This may be accomplished by (1) purchasing a more expensive animal than would be economical for a single small farmer who could not use him to his full capacity, or (2) purchasing jointly a number of pure-bred males. Each animal thus purchased is kept on a single farm for two years. It then

serves on another farm for another two-year period, and so on as long as it is fit for service. In this way each animal can be used during his whole effective lifetime, and his full value can be realized. Where an individual farmer purchases an animal of this kind, without the opportunity for a fair exchange, he must either sell it at a loss or run the risk of injuring his herd by undesirable inbreeding. Another advantage, not to be ignored, is the opportunity which the plan gives for more scientific mating.

In short, if the farmers of a given community will adopt the same breeds of farm animals, and if the same breeding farm can remain in the same family generation after generation, and if the farmers will practice coöperative purchasing and maintaining of breeding animals on a large scale, we can hope to rival any European country in the excellence of our breeding stock.

Marketing organizations. The marketing of farm products must begin, as already stated, with the production of things that are marketable. Four accomplishments must precede the actual selling of a product if the best results are to be obtained, and each of these accomplishments calls for organization. They are: (1) improvement of the product; (2) standardization of the product by means of organized production and marketing; (3) branding of the product; (4) education of the consumer.

It is extremely improbable that coöperative marketing will ever entirely displace the system of marketing through private dealers. In many cases, at least, the latter can handle the farmers' products as cheaply as the farmers themselves. When the farmers are thoroughly organized and thoroughly informed on commercial methods, they can take their choice between coöperative marketing and selling through private dealers. Private dealers will then be compelled to be as efficient and economical as the coöperative society or get out of business. There is no reason, however, why they should not continue to do a large share of the business of handling farm products. Every economy which a farmers' coöperative society can practice will be open to private dealers as well. It is only where farmers are unwilling to work together, or are uninformed as to

commercial methods, that the private dealers are able to take advantage of them and charge an excessive toll on the products which pass through their hands.

Procuring farm supplies. The importance of a knowledge of commercial processes applies both to the procuring of farm supplies and to the disposing of farm products. When the farmers are well enough organized and informed to be able to dispense with the services of the various dealers who are supplying them, it may not be necessary actually to do so, because the dealers will have learned by that time that their services must be rendered at a cost to the farmer no higher than that of coöperative purchasing or manufacturing.

Farm finance and accounting. Probably no subject connected with agriculture, unless it be that of marketing, has recently attracted so much attention as that of farm credit. Undoubtedly credit conditions are bad in some parts of the country. In spite of the fact that American farmers are better supplied with banks than any other country, and are more in the habit of using them, our commercial system has only partly met the needs of farmers.

The promotion of farm accounting and the study of farm accounts in order to find out what farm enterprises can safely be financed is the first duty of a community organization. The next is to find out how these enterprises can be financed on the most favorable terms. The latter is often the easier problem of the two.

Communication and transportation. Intercommunication is one of the primary factors of civilization. Every substantial increase in the efficiency of means of communication marks a new epoch of civilization. The railroads, the telegraph, and the telephone have often been cited as examples. It is not necessary, however, that we should confine our attention to these means of increasing long-distance communication. Important as these are, they are probably of less absolute importance than the commoner means of locomotion and of communication of neighbor with neighbor by means of the spoken word. Yet it is just at this point that the people who live in the country are at a disadvantage as compared with those who live in the city. So

far as long-distance communication is concerned, there is no great difference; but in the matter of short-distance communication the townsmen have a great advantage. The fact that country people live so far apart is what creates the difference. There is special need, therefore, that country people should have the best possible means of overcoming distances which separate them from one another — distances which are measured in miles rather than in hundreds of miles.

Need of organizing social interests. Up to this point we have been discussing the organization of the business interests of rural communities. All rural improvement must undoubtedly begin here. But it must be remembered that no building is complete when the foundation is laid.

Most of us used to believe that the one thing needful for the improvement of country life was to increase the farmers' income. We are now beginning to discover that this is only half the problem, and by no means the most difficult half. We find, for example, that the wealthy farmer is even more inclined to move to town than is the unprosperous farmer. In fact, he frequently moves to town because he has prospered in the country, has accumulated a competence, and is now able to retire.

There are five principal reasons why the farmers move to town. First, town schools are generally thought to be better than country schools. Until country schools are so improved as to give to every country child as good an educational opportunity as is open to any city child, we must expect that the people who appreciate education and who can afford city life will continue to move cityward.

A second reason for moving to town is the better sanitary condition found in the more progressive cities and towns. The country is still somewhat more healthful than the city, though there are some perverted statistics which aim to show the contrary. But cities are rapidly improving in sanitation, and the time is not far distant when, unless the country districts arouse themselves, the cities will be more healthful than the country.

A third reason for leaving the farm for the town or city is found in the better opportunities for recreation which the latter

affords, in spite of the fact that the country has the natural advantage. Recreation is almost unthinkable without some kind of group action, and this is the very thing which country people lack and which city people possess.

If there is any one particular in which any rural community ought to excel any city, it is the superior opportunities it offers for gratifying the natural desire for beauty. A craving for beauty, or for the things which please the mind through the eye or the ear, is one of the first symptoms of a desire to rise above the primitive plane of existence. Many cities are making heroic efforts to overcome their industrial ugliness, whereas it sometimes seems as if many rural communities were making equal efforts to destroy their natural beauty. Where this is the case we have a fourth reason why people leave the country for the city.

A fifth reason for the movement from country to city is sometimes the most powerful of all. This is the lack of household conveniences in the country. The city home may have gas and electricity, must of necessity have hydrant water and sewage connection, usually has both hot and cold water, a bathtub, and a convenient heating system, besides a number of other conveniences to lighten the burdens of housekeeping. All these things are possible in the country, but they are actually less common than in the city. The chief reason is lack of community enterprise.

If the city should, for a long period of time, have the advantage over the country in these five particulars, — education, sanitation, recreation, beautification, and household conveniences, — nothing could keep enlightened people from going to the cities, leaving the country to people who either do not care for these things or are so inefficient that they can never accumulate enough to enable them to move to town. In other words, instead of our present progressive, enlightened, self-respecting agricultural population, we should drain off all the better elements, leaving only a "peasant" population, ignorant, stolid, unprogressive, and inefficient. Even the growing of crops must decline under such a system.

The community center. We are creatures of space as well as of time, and it is difficult for us to do anything without a place in which to do it. This applies to organizations as well as to individuals. An effective organization of a rural community could scarcely be maintained without a meeting place. The lack of such a meeting place has often been the chief difficulty in the way of maintaining an effective community organization. Its lack is sometimes supplied, in part at least, by a grange hall. In other cases a church building supplies the need, but only in those unusual communities where practically everybody belongs to the same church. In colonial New England this was the normal situation, and the need for a separate community building scarcely existed. The same situation is found today in a few other places, — in certain Mormon settlements of the Rocky Mountain region and in a very few immigrant communities scattered about the country. The schoolhouse, especially where there is a consolidated school, may answer the purpose fairly well; but the school building is generally designed only for school purposes, with its seats graded according to the size of the pupils. Except for the physical inconvenience, however, the schoolhouse serves very well as a community center. The difficulty is greater where there is no consolidated school. The small country district, in these days of automobiles, is too small a unit to form a general rural community. Therefore the small one-room country schoolhouse could hardly serve as a community center.

The limits of the rural community. In the pre-automobile days the area included in a rural community was necessarily smaller than now. It could not be so large as to make it difficult to drive from the remote parts to the center. The Congressional township of thirty-six square miles was about as large an area as could well be included. Some thought it too large. From the remote corners of such a township, if there were no diagonal roads, the farmers would have to drive five or six miles to reach the center. In these days, when nearly every farmer has an automobile, they can easily drive twice or thrice those distances.

In the future the area of a rural community is more likely to be determined by the limitations of the human mind in developing friendship and a neighborly spirit than by physical distance. The average person could probably not be genuinely friendly toward more than a dozen or a score of persons. One who possessed a genius for friendship might include a hundred persons within the circle of those for whom he felt a genuinely friendly interest. Of course, a neighborly feeling is less intense than real friendship, and consequently one can hold a neighborly feeling toward many persons outside the circle of his real friends. However, there is a limit to the capacity of the average person to cherish even a neighborly feeling toward others. How many persons may be included in the circle of one's neighbors, in the psychological rather than the geographical sense, is not known. We shall probably have to try a good many experiments in community-building before we find how large a number of persons a real community may include.

QUESTIONS

1. Once upon a time there was a dialogue between a man from the city and a man from the country. The man from the city said to the man from the country, "Who is my neighbor?" The man from the country answered with the story of the good Samaritan.

Do men from the country generally think of physical propinquity as determining who are their neighbors? Do men from the city always think in terms of physical propinquity, or do they sometimes think in terms of membership in a given class, occupation, or trade union in trying to determine who are their neighbors?

2. Is it necessary to assume that community life everywhere began in the same way? What different suggestions have you to make as to how community life might originate?

3. What were some of the outstanding factors in the early New England settlements and the Mormon settlements?

4. What is the most important reason for the prevalence of scattered farmsteads in this country?

5. Discuss the question Is it a sign of weakness or of strength to show provincialism?

6. Find out as much as you can about the numerous communistic societies that have existed in the United States, — why they succeeded (if they did succeed) and why they failed when they failed.

7. Draw up your ideal plan for the organization of a rural community.

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CHAPTER X

THE RURAL STANDARD OF LIVING

Attempts to explain the nation's prosperity. It has been often noticed that certain animals, such as the brown rat in Europe, the English sparrow in America, and the rabbit in Australia, flourish amazingly when transferred to a new and rich environment. Having lived for thousands of generations in an old and crowded environment, where the processes of selection operate rigidly and inexorably, the survivors of this long struggle have acquired remarkable powers of adaptation. When suddenly transferred to a new and rich environment, where the struggle for life is not so intense, they flourish and multiply at a terrific rate.

These illustrations are sometimes used to explain by analogy the remarkable prosperity of the people of the United States. Having lived thousands of years in that pent-up and changeable promontory called Europe, in which the struggle for existence has probably been more intense than anywhere else in the world, they acquired remarkable powers of adaptation. It was therefore natural that they should flourish when transferred to a new and rich environment such as ours. We can at least say, however, that we have not taken our new prosperity in a mere rabbit-like multiplication of numbers. We have increased in numbers, it is true, but not so rapidly as is physiologically possible, and we have managed to raise our standard of living so that each individual is better off than he was in the old environment or than he was in this new environment in previous decades.

New productive power does not always result in better living conditions, even for the human species. English rule in Egypt, with English capital and English engineering to develop new systems of irrigation, has added greatly to the productive power of that country. The increased production, however, was

utilized not so much to raise the standard of living of the people as to enable them to multiply more rapidly. The result was that in twenty-five years the population doubled, but the working people are only a little better off than they used to be when under the Dutch in Java. Even the so-called industrial revolution in England in the latter half of the eighteenth century produced a similar result. The coming of the steam engine and power-driven machinery in her factories greatly increased the productive power in that country and might therefore have improved the living conditions of the people, had not the population increased during that short period more than it had during all the previous time, with the result that twice as many English people lived a very little better than half as many had lived before. In this country, however, our increased productive power has been, in part at least, utilized to give every person more goods and a more enjoyable time; in other words, it has been used to raise the standard of living.

Standard of living defined. The term "standard of living" is a relative one and means different things to different people, though economists have generally given it a definite meaning. The term is sometimes inaccurately used as though it meant what any class of individuals is actually spending on its living, or what it actually costs people of that class to live. It is a little nearer the truth, however, to say that it is that scale of expenditure to which any class has become so accustomed as to make considerable sacrifices to maintain it. However, among economists it usually means something still more technical and definite. It includes all those things which the individual under discussion will insist on having before he will marry and undertake the support of a family. In other words, the individual's standard of living is of such importance to him that he will sacrifice his desire for a family before he will lower his standard of living, or will postpone marriage until his income will enable him to support a family according to his standard of living. Only those articles of consumption are technically a part of his standard of living which he prefers to marriage and for which he will actually postpone marriage indefinitely.

A high standard of living. A high standard of living is one in which a large number of things, and some very expensive things, are preferred to a family. A low standard of living is one in which only a few things, and very cheap things, are preferred to a family. Thus, a man with a low standard of living will marry as soon as he is able to afford a few simple necessaries. A man with a high standard of living will postpone marriage until he is able to afford many things, some of which are rather expensive. In technical economic discussions a high standard of living is merely an expensive one, and a low standard of living a cheap one.

Let us assume, for the sake of illustration, that bread is a symbol for all the absolute necessaries of life, butter a symbol of the comforts of life, and jam a symbol of the luxuries. A man who will marry and undertake the support of a family as soon as he is able to afford bread has a low standard of living; if he will not marry until he is able to afford both bread and butter, his standard of living is a little higher; and if he will not marry until he is able to afford bread, butter, and jam, his standard of living is still higher.

How the standard of living affects population. The standard of living as thus defined has an important bearing on population. Where it is low or cheap, the tendency is for marriages to take place early in life and for families to be large. Where it is high or expensive, marriages are usually postponed until later in life and families are small. The standard of living also affects the question of wages and other similar problems. If the population has a low standard, or, to use the previous illustration, if bread alone enters into the standard of living, the population as a whole, or at least the laboring group, will multiply until the numbers are so great that bread is all they can really afford. If, however, the average individual will not marry until he is certain that he can afford both bread and butter, there will be no children born except in homes where there is bread and butter; and when these children come to try to earn a living, there will be so few competing for jobs that all can get wages that will enable them to procure bread and butter for them-

selves and their families. To carry the illustration farther, if no one will marry until he can afford bread, butter, and jam, no children will be born except in families where bread, butter, and jam are provided. In this way the standard of living, as technically defined, is one of the determining factors not only in population but in wages as well.

How the standard of living affects the rural population. In considering the standard of living as applied to rural population, let us assume that there is no opportunity for migration and that the rural population must continue to be rural and must make its living by farming from a relatively fixed area of land such as that limited area comprised within the United States, or any other country with definite geographic boundaries. If the rural population has a high standard, no young farmer will marry until he is able to afford bread, butter, and jam, or the things for which these are symbols. In that case there will never be an overcrowded country. No children will be born except to those farmers who have enough land, equipment, and skill to provide things which enter into their standard of living. With a low standard, however, there may be actual agricultural overpopulation. Thus, if every young farmer should marry as soon as he could afford the basic necessaries of life, there would be so many people trying to make a living from a limited area of land that they could afford only the absolute necessaries of life.

From this point of view, therefore, it appears that the standard of living is one of the basic facts in every economic system and in the economic life of every people. It is something more than a mere statistical average of what people are spending in any time and place. The standard of living is one of the dynamic factors in all social and economic progress. Whatever may have been its cause, it becomes the cause of exceedingly important conditions.

A rational standard of living. It should be emphasized that a high standard of living as defined above is not the same as a rational standard, nor is a low one the same as an irrational one. A high standard, as pointed out, is merely an expensive

one, and a low standard a cheap one. There is need, however, of further refinement; that is, we need to give more attention than economists have hitherto given to the distinction between rational and irrational standards of living.

A rational standard may be either moderately cheap or moderately expensive, but it cannot possibly be excessively cheap or excessively expensive. Those going to excess in either direction would be irrational. However, there might be considerable variation, within limits, in a rational standard. A rational standard is one that includes everything that will add to a person's efficiency or earning capacity more than it adds to his cost of living. An irrational standard is one that adds more to his cost of living than to his efficiency or earning capacity. For example, alcohol might enter into what is technically called a high standard of living. Such a standard would not be rational if it could be shown that alcohol did not increase but probably decreased the individual's earning capacity. Any other luxury, however delightful it may be, is not rational if it adds nothing to one's efficiency or earning capacity but adds considerable to one's cost of living. It handicaps an individual in the process of adaptation to the physical and social world in which he lives.

If, however, an expensive item in a person's standard of living increases his earning capacity more than it increases the cost, this is really a help to him in the struggle to adjust himself to the material universe and to the social life around him, and thus is rational. An education, for example, may be expensive and add much to the cost of living, but if it increases an individual's efficiency or earning capacity it is a help rather than a hindrance. An individual who will postpone marriage until he not only has educated himself but is certain to be able to educate his future children may have an expensive standard of living, but it is rational. Another individual who will not marry until he can provide himself with useless or expensive luxuries has an expensive and irrational standard. These luxuries add nothing to his efficiency or earning capacity, and greatly increase the cost of living.

The competitive system tends to eliminate such standards of living and the people who insist upon maintaining them. Even the material world will do the same thing. If the hermit who lives apart from society in the backwoods or in a cave insists on spending much of his energy to provide himself with things that do not help renew that energy, he will make a poor backwoodsman or hermit. This law is not, therefore, a mere peculiarity of our present social organization. It exists in every kind of social organization. Even where there is no social organization it affects the destinies of men.

What kinds of things make a standard rational or irrational. Without attempting to exhaust the list of items that enter into a rational standard of living, we are perfectly safe in saying that useful books, education, wholesome recreation, as well as wholesome food, well-ventilated houses, and such conveniences as bathrooms are to be included. It is more difficult to name a list of things that would make up an irrational standard. One reason is that very few things are in themselves and at all times luxuries. They become luxuries only when they are consumed in excess. Even coal, while it could not in itself be classified as a luxury, may be consumed luxuriously; that is, a family may keep its house too warm for real health and efficiency, in which case at least a part of the coal used is consumed luxuriously. The same may be said of almost every physical comfort: up to a certain point its consumption is rational; beyond that it becomes luxurious and therefore wasteful. The glutton may consume food luxuriously, and yet no one would call food itself a luxury. There are not many individual articles of food that are not necessary, or that could not be classed as necessaries in small quantities. Almost any article of food, even bread, however, may be consumed in excessive quantities and therefore luxuriously.

Recreation, within limits, is necessary and rational. One who spends all his time in recreation, however, is luxuriating. It becomes dissipation instead of recreation. One might even pursue education in a luxurious way. It would probably consume fifty years of a man's life to take all the courses in one of our

larger universities. He might get pleasure in doing this, but if he spent his whole life thus, and never did anything with his education, he would be literally luxuriating and wasting a great deal of his time and energy. Books can hardly be called luxuries in themselves, yet from the strictly economic point of view spending all one's time in reading for mere pleasure would be dissipation as truly as overeating or overdrinking.

It is quite possible to have a standard of living so very high or expensive as to interfere with one's real usefulness in the world. One who spent so much of his time enjoying expensive luxuries of any kind, whether material or intellectual, that he had little time for anything really useful to anybody, would have a standard of living that was too high and therefore irrational. Again, the individual who earns enough to support a family and provide them with everything that could possibly enter into a rational standard of living, but refrains from marrying because it would interfere with his enjoyment of some unnecessary pleasures, is failing to perform one of his most important functions in society.

It is perfectly clear to any intelligent observer that in every rich country there are numerous people whose standards of living are too expensive and therefore irrational. It is scarcely necessary to state that there are also many people at the opposite extreme, whose standards of living are too low, and who therefore undertake the support of families when they are not able to provide them with even the ordinary comforts of life.

The intelligence factor in the standard of living. It is apparent that what we have called the standard of living goes with intelligence. Where there is no intelligence there can be no standard of living. A creature, whether he is human or subhuman, who cannot think in terms of the future, who does not plan his present conduct in terms of its future results, but lives on the impulse of the moment, will multiply as automatically as the plants and the lower animals. But wherever there is a creature with sufficient intelligence to think in terms of future consequences, who can plan his present conduct with a view to getting certain results, who does not, therefore, live wholly

on the impulse of the moment, he will plan his family life as carefully as he plans anything else.

The standard of living not always effective. The standard of living is effective only under certain systems of social organization; that is, it is effective only where the responsibility for the care of children is placed upon the one who has brought about their existence. Separate these two forms of responsibility, and there really is no standard of living, or at least it has no effect on conduct. Serve notice on an individual that he must take care of his own children, and that fact is likely to enter into his plans of life. Serve notice on the same individual that the city or the community will take care of his children, and his plans are likely to be somewhat different. No matter how intelligent and forethoughtful he may be, if he is deprived of either the opportunity or the responsibility of caring for his own children his plans will be modified; or if he is assured that if he marries at nineteen and has ten children they will be exactly as well provided for by the community as if he postponed marriage to twenty-five and had only four or five children, there is no reason why he should postpone marriage from nineteen to twenty-five, or from a period when he can earn very little to a period when he can earn more.

One of the most difficult of all problems in sociology is the problem of the feeble-minded, that is, those individuals with so little intelligence that they are unfit for the work of planning for the future. A person of this class has no standard of living and cannot by any possibility have one. He will not hesitate to marry when he has no income at all or when he has no certainty of a future income. Living on the impulse of the moment, he does not build a family according to a plan. He spawns as the fish spawn. The function of multiplication is with him a purely physiological function. It becomes an intellectual and spiritual function only among the intelligent who are capable of planning and of building according to a plan.

An agricultural community made up entirely of imbeciles and morons would multiply so rapidly as to overcrowd the land, yet this overcrowding would not affect the marriage rate or the

multiplication rate at all. In a community of intelligent people, however, where parents were responsible for the welfare of their children, the possibility of overcrowding would help to determine present conduct with respect to marriage and multiplication, and the land would never be overcrowded. However, a rural community made up of even the most intelligent people, if the parents were not responsible for the care of their children, or if every child were cared for by the community as a whole and everyone equally well provided for, regardless of how reckless his parents were, might easily become overpopulated. The prospect of future overpopulation of that community would not materially affect the marriage rate or the birth rate. In such a case the thoughtless and the shortsighted could easily overpopulate the community even if the farsighted ones refrained from marriage altogether or postponed marriage to a relatively late period in life. In other words, the intelligent people could not, by their own individual self-restraint, avert the ultimate calamity of overpopulation.

What standard of living includes. To summarize, we find that a standard of living includes those things which a man prefers to a family, or which he will insist upon having before he will undertake to support a family. This assumes that the individual is intelligent enough to think about such things and lay his plans accordingly. It also assumes that the individual is himself responsible for his children and their care and maintenance.

The national standard of living. An interesting problem arises at this point with respect to the national standard of living. Is it possible for one nation to preserve indefinitely a standard of living higher than that of the rest of the world? Precisely the same answer must be given to another question. Can a given family maintain a higher standard of living than its neighbors? The answer is No, provided the neighbors are free to trespass on the family property or to live partly on the income of the family in question. In other words, under communism no family could maintain a higher standard of living than any other. Even if it kept its numbers down, it could gain no advantage if others overpopulated the country. If we consider the nation

a huge family, and the world a neighborhood made up of huge families, we shall find a clue to the answer to the question above. Unless one nation can reserve its own territory for its own people, it will be impossible to maintain a higher standard of living than the rest of the world. In other words, if other nations are free to enter the territory of the United States, they can overpopulate it and reduce the general standard of living to the level of the countries from which they came; but if the nation is permitted to reserve that territory for its own people, there need not be the slightest difficulty in maintaining a high standard of living, even if the rest of the world continues to live on a low standard.

Only one troublesome question remains, and this relates to competition among nations in international trade. Can a nation with a high standard of living and a high wage rate continue to compete with nations having a low standard of living and a low wage rate? First, let us take as a simple illustration, though a somewhat extreme one, the growing of rice in California and Texas. In the rice fields our laborers receive much higher wages than do the laborers in the rice fields of Japan, China, or India, and yet American rice not only competes in international trade with the rice from these countries, but can actually be sold in those very countries in competition with home-grown rice. The reason is that although wages are much higher in the United States than in those countries, the product per man is still higher. But what is to prevent the product per man in those countries from rising until it is as great as it is in this country? Cannot the Japanese, Chinese, and Hindu laborers work as hard and as skillfully as American laborers? The reply is that in all probability they now work harder and more skillfully than American laborers in the rice fields. The high productivity per man in the American rice fields is not due to the long hours they work, nor to the strenuosity and skill with which they work. They do not demonstrate to the eye any superiority in these respects over the poorly paid labor of those old countries. The visible fact is that American laborers are better equipped than are the laborers of those old countries.

The laborers in the American rice fields have more land per man on which to work. A worker can produce more rice on forty acres than on two acres, no matter how intensively he cultivates the two acres. So long as there are forty acres of good rice land for every worker in the American rice fields, and only two acres of rice land for every worker in the Oriental rice fields, there will not be the slightest difficulty in paying higher wages in America than in those countries, and at the same time selling rice, in international trade, in competition with the rice from those countries.

In addition to the advantage of having more land on which to work, the workers in the California and Texas rice fields have more capital. Being equipped with more land and capital, they can produce more per man than Oriental laborers can possibly produce, even though the American laborer does not work so hard or so skillfully. So long as this advantage can be maintained there need not be the slightest fear of being compelled, by international competition, to reduce the American standard of living to the Oriental level. All that is said of rice-growing can be repeated with respect to any other product.

The standard of living self-protecting. Now there is this peculiarity about the standard of living as it has been defined and described earlier in this chapter. It is self-protecting. From the very nature of the standard of living it tends to limit the birth rate. If, for example, the American rice-grower will not marry until he secures an income of five dollars a day or better, there will never be any children born except in families that receive five dollars a day or more. If the number of laborers in the rice fields should increase to the point where the ratio of land to labor would be low, and five dollars a day could not be earned, there would be a tendency to postpone marriage and prevent the ratio from falling still further. If this applies to laborers in general and not simply to rice-growers, the American standard of living automatically protects itself.

If, in addition to this, the American standard of living is so rationalized as to include thrift, there will never be any scarcity of capital; that is to say, if the standard of living is such that

no one will marry until he has a small amount of capital, either in the form of a bank deposit, an insurance policy, or a small investment, there will never be any children born except in families that have at least some capital. So long as this standard is maintained there will never be any depletion of capital or lowering of the ratio of capital to labor in our industries. In other words, a rational standard of living not only will prevent the overpopulation of our territory but will assure an adequate equipment in the way of capital for all our laborers. In that case every American laborer will have not only an abundance of land on which to work but an abundance of capital with which to work. Under these conditions it will never be possible for any nation with a low standard of living to drive us out of the markets in international trade by reason of its cheap labor. This low standard of living means ultimate overpopulation, which means insufficient land to give each laborer his highest productivity; it will also mean, unless thrift is a widespread virtue in such a country, that its laborers are handicapped by an insufficiency of capital with which to work. The low wages received by labor will be more than compensated by the low productivity per man in their industries. In other words, the labor cost will be high because of its low productivity in spite of the low wages paid for labor.

We return, therefore, to the proposition with which we started; namely, that a high standard of living automatically protects itself in any country that controls its own territory and resources, — that reserves these for its own people.

Standard of living and family expenditures. Turning from the question of the standard of living in the technical economic sense, and considering merely the statistical facts regarding family expenditures, whether these are more or less accidental or whether they are essential to the standard of living in a technical sense, we find some interesting facts. Various inquiries have shown that in 1913 it required from $600 to $1000 to enable a typical family to live according to what was called the American standard. A survey of New York City families showed that a minimum of $800 was needed in 1913.

Of course, this is in part based on the observation of what people were actually spending who were living on a scale which was considered proper and dignified in American society. What was considered proper and dignified, however, was partly a matter of opinion on the part of the investigator. The opinion of an investigator is not of so much importance technically as the opinion of the family itself as manifested by its marrying habits. Whatever may be the opinion of any investigator, if a good many people of a certain class will actually marry on less than $600, then their standard of living is technically less than $600 a year. There are not many investigators, probably, who would consider that, even in 1913, an income of less than $600 a year would justify anyone in marrying and undertaking the support of a family. Of course, in the years since the World War the cost of living has been much greater. It has been pretty carefully estimated that a dollar in 1913 would buy approximately as much as $1.59 would buy in 1920. Thus, if $800 was the minimum on which a family could be supported in decency in New York City in 1913, $1272 would be required in 1923.

Some absurd figures, of course, are always certain to result when amateurs begin to calculate. One interesting estimate was to the effect that it takes $2200 a year to support a family according to the American standard. If it should turn out that the total production of the country divided by the total number of families resulted in a quotient of less than $2200, it would seem to prove what would be an absurdity, — that the country did not produce enough to enable every family to live according to the American standard.

Distribution of income. One interesting phase of the study of the standard of living is the distribution of income among the various items of expenditure. The most celebrated study along this line was made by a German statistician, Engel, and related to the working classes of Saxony.[1] The table on the following page shows the percentage each family of different incomes spent on different items:

[1] See Ernst Engel, Prussian Statistical Bureau Report No. 1857, p. 145, Table I.

Items of Expenditure	Percentage of Expenditure of Family Income					
	$225–$300		$450–$600		$700–$1000	
Subsistence	62.0	95.0	55.0	90.0	50.0	85.0
Clothing	16.0		18.0		18.0	
Lodging	12.0		12.0		12.0	
Heat and light	5.0		5.0		5.0	
Education, public worship, etc.	2.0	5.0	3.5	10.0	5.5	15.0
Legal protection	1.0		2.0		3.0	
Care of health	1.0		2.0		3.0	
Comfort and recreation	1.0		2.5		3.5	
	100.0		100.0		100.0	

These figures reveal some interesting facts. As the income of a family increases, the percentage spent for food, clothing, rent, fuel, and light remains almost invariably the same, while larger proportions are devoted to education, recreation, and miscellaneous purposes. These tendencies are known as Engel's law. Similar investigations in Europe and America have given support to the accuracy of Engel's study.

The Seventh Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor (1891) gives the following table:

Items of Expenditure	Income under $200	Income under $400	Income under $600	Income under $800	Income under $1000	Income over $1200
	Per Cent	*Per Cent*	*Per Cent*	*Per Cent*	*Per Cent*	*Per Cent*
Rent	15.48	14.98	15.15	15.60	14.96	12.59
Fuel	7.07	6.04	5.63	4.42	4.00	2.57
Light	1.01	0.98	0.97	0.88	0.74	0.45
Clothing	12.82	14.14	15.27	16.33	16.84	15.71
Food	49.64	45.59	43.84	38.89	34.34	28.63
All other purposes	13.98	18.27	19.14	23.88	29.12	40.05

These figures show that about nine tenths of the income of very poor families in this country is expended for subsistence wants, and that about half of this goes for the purchase of food. As the income increases, a larger proportion could be expended in satisfying what may be called culture wants, or it could be saved and invested. In observing the items relating to food, shelter, and clothing it is clear that the desires for the physical necessaries are less expansive than the so-called cultural needs;

at least the latter claim increasing proportions of the larger incomes. It is also shown that the desire for better clothing and shelter expands more rapidly than the desire for better food.

Houses and conveniences as factors in the standard of living. Shelter as well as food enters into the standard of living. It is difficult to find an adequate measure of the standard of living as affected by shelter. In some of the recent regulations of our cities there is an attempt to establish a minimum requirement. This is sometimes stated in terms of cubic feet of space per individual, and the regulations as applied to tenements require a certain number of cubic feet of space per individual. In rural districts there is no such requirement, and there are no statistics indicating what the average number of cubic feet per individual in rural homes actually is. Since ventilation, or fresh air, is one of the reasons why there is a minimum requirement in city tenements, and since, however small the rural home may be, there is not likely to be any scarcity of fresh air, there is probably not the same reason for regulations here as in the city.

Home ownership may throw some light on the standard of living, but a very indefinite one. According to the Fourteenth Census there were over 20,000,000 dwellings in the United States and over 24,000,000 families, indicating that in some cases more than one family occupy the same dwelling. As we saw in Chapter IV, of the total rural dwellings 52.4 per cent were occupied by their owners, whereas only 36.7 per cent of the urban dwellings were so occupied. If we assume that ownership represents a somewhat higher standard of living than tenancy, these figures would indicate that the standard of living was a little higher in the country than in the city. That, however, would be a hazardous assumption.

Conveniences in the home also enter into the standard of living. In the city home gas, electricity, furnace heat, and various other things are expected as a matter of course. Only about 7 per cent of the country homes have gas and electric light, according to the census of 1920. The percentage varies from 43.4 per cent in Utah (which leads rural districts in this

respect), 28.3 per cent in Massachusetts (which comes second), 25.9 per cent in California, and 15.3 per cent in Iowa to 1.1 per cent in Louisiana, Arkansas, and Mississippi. In the use of telephones the average for all the farm homes of the United States is 38.9 per cent. In 1920 there were 1,979,564 automobiles reported as owned on the farms of the United States. In other words, 30.7 per cent of the farmers owned automobiles.

Clothing as a factor in standard of living. Another important item in the standard of living, aside from that of food and shelter, is clothing. In Engel's law it was found that as incomes increase there is an increased expenditure for clothing. In other words, clothing varies more than shelter. Probably clothing is more intimately associated with the standard of living than either food or shelter. Clothing is a more definite expression of personality. It more definitely expresses either vanity or modesty, good taste or bad taste, than anything else, especially if under the head of clothing we include all articles of adornment worn on the person. It is commonly stated by anthropologists that among primitive races clothing is more a matter of adornment than of comfort. It may have grown out of the same spirit that led to tattooing and mutilation. Feathers and paint were regarded by the American Indian as of equal importance with blankets, and the color of the blanket had an importance almost equal to that of its warmth. The desire for beauty is not the only motive for personal adornment. The desire for distinction is of almost equal importance. The skin of a formidable beast conferred distinction upon the wearer, especially if it were assumed that he himself was the slayer of the beast. Whether the skin is worn by the slayer or used as a rug matters little so long as the element of distinction is involved. The wearing of scalps or other evidences of prowess grew out of the same human desire for distinction. Of course, in a rational standard of living as distinguished from an expensive one, attire will be governed by desire for health, comfort, and beauty, and will not be wholly or even mainly a matter of distinction. Feminine attire especially will be designed with as much regard for health, comfort, and beauty as for ostentation or display.

Woman's important part in determining the standard of living. It has sometimes puzzled sociologists and others to explain why, among most of the lower creatures and even among the lower savages of the human race, the males are the ones who are adorned, either with natural appendages or with artificial ornaments, whereas in the higher stages of human society the opposite is the case. It appears to be partly a matter of standard of living and partly a matter of competition for mates. Everywhere the male is more ardent in his desire for a female than the female is for a male. Therefore competition in the mating process is more severe among the males than among the females. Where the female is to be won by superior fighting power the male develops fighting organs,— spurs, horns, fangs, biting muscles, and so forth. Where she is to be won by the arts of fascination the male develops the means of fascination, —brilliant plumage, stately antlers, a dignified and impressive beard, a beautiful song, or something else that will attract her eye or ear and help to captivate and fascinate her.

In the higher stages of economic society, however, the male needs neither to fight for her nor to fascinate her by his personal beauty or adornment. He offers economic support instead. The male who can offer ample economic support does not need to be a good fighter or particularly handsome. He merely goes soberly to work and secures an income and offers this to the woman in lieu of beauty or strength. Not only does this help to explain why the males in the higher stages of economic civilization are less beautiful than the females, it also has an important bearing on the standard of living. The rural swain who has a good farm and is a good farmer—in other words, a good provider—has the advantage in the competition over the one who is merely handsome or pugnacious, because the woman is really the economic animal, who carries her economizing over into her choice of a mate. She is the first economizer. Even in savage tribes she is the first to lay up stores for winter and otherwise provide for her own offspring by looking ahead and planning. Getting a good husband is even better than filling a corncrib, and is therefore a mark of even higher economic intelligence.

In other words, the maintenance of the standard of living rests more with the woman than with the man. The man is likely to be willing to marry and beget children at any time if the woman is willing. But she, feeling a more definite responsibility for the future well-being of herself and her children, normally refuses any offer of marriage except on the part of one who is in a position to provide. From the standpoint of rational behavior she is far in advance of the male. She applies her intelligence at a vital point where it counts in the maintenance of a standard of living and the building of a civilization. She is less likely to waste her intelligence on irrelevant and immaterial things, such as poetic eyes or magnetic voices.

If it be asserted that the woman uses a great deal of ingenuity in adorning herself and making herself attractive, the answer is that this is one of her means of attracting and fascinating a possible provider. She is in the most literal sense using her intelligence where it counts, and not wasting it on irrelevant and immaterial things even in personal adornment. It is not only an efficient means of securing a good provider, but an effective means of preserving a civilized standard of living. For this reason there is more competition in the arts of adornment among women than among men.

In the last analysis the standard of living is the safeguard against overpopulation. When the standard of living is high, no one will marry until assured of an income that will enable him to live up to that high standard. When this is the case, there will be no legitimate children born except in families that can support them on a high standard. This is our basis for assurance that there will never be more such people than can maintain a high standard of living.

QUESTIONS

1. Is there any danger of overpopulation in a country whose people have acquired a high standard of living? Explain your answer in some detail.

2. How should you distinguish between an expensive and a rational standard of living?

3. Why is it that among birds and most of the other lower animals the male is more highly adorned than the female, whereas among the more highly civilized peoples the reverse is true?

4. What is meant by Engel's law? On the basis of this law should you expect that a general advance in wages in all cities would greatly increase the demand for agricultural products?

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CHAPTER XI

COMMUNICATION AND RURAL LIFE

Early communication a means of defense. Improved communication may be so defined as to include three things: first, transmission of intelligence; secondly, the increase of man's power to move himself; thirdly, transportation of materials. The desire to know one's neighbor and to understand one's acquaintances is very natural and highly commendable. This would be an admirable reason for desiring improved means for the transmission of intelligence. It is to be feared, however, that a more immediately practical desire led to the very earliest improvements of this kind. The desire to know of the presence of enemies and the movement of troops was probably the motive that led to first attempts at swifter means of communication.

Improvements in communication. Of course the human voice as the vehicle of speech was the first and primitive means of transmission of intelligence. It is a well-known fact, however, that light is swifter than sound and travels farther. The human voice can be heard only a few hundred yards, and the loudest crash of thunder only a few miles. Rays of light travel incredible distances at incredible speed. Smoke signals can be seen scores of miles by day, and beacon fires equal distances by night. Even savages early learned to signal to one another by such means. Long before the electric telegraph, men were playing with light as they now play with electricity and radio. The military leaders of civilized nations learned to signal by means of mirrors and other instruments for the transmission of light rays.

The electric telegraph was the next significant improvement in the means of transmitting intelligence, and was the most important of all until the discovery of radioactivity. When an arctic explorer, isolated in the ice fields in the neighborhood of the pole, can converse with members of his own family sitting

at their own fireside, it looks as if the art of transmitting intelligence were nearing perfection. Who can predict?

Improvement of transportation. One of the first things a baby desires to do is to *go*. It never gets over this desire. Its perambulator is called its go-cart. This primitive and fundamental desire has led to many of our improvements over walking as a means of locomotion. The domestication of the horse was the most significant improvement of locomotion until the present mechanical age came upon us. The railroad train, the steamship, the automobile, and the airplane are only glorified go-carts.

"If the mountain will not come to Mohammed, Mohammed must go to the mountain." If man cannot bring food to himself, he must go to his food. Without means of transporting food to himself he must go where it grows. No modern city could feed itself without a great system of transportation. If this should cease to function, the population would have to scatter to the fields or starve. Certain swift fliers among the birds can live in great rookeries or roosts because of their power of flight. They can transport themselves to their feeding grounds for the day and to their roosts for the night. Mohammed goes to the mountain. If their powers of flight were greatly reduced, they could not roost together in such numbers. Those human roosts called cities are equally dependent upon the power of transportation, but in this case the mountain comes to Mohammed; they transport the food to themselves.

A contrast between the old and the new. Nothing shows man's power over nature so strikingly as his improvements in his means of communication, which we have defined to include transportation. Nothing so strikingly shows civilized man's superiority over the savage as his means of communication. Improvements in the means of communication mark epochs. Each period of human history is distinguished by its achievement in methods of communication and the greater ease by means of which men are able to get from place to place. It sometimes looks as if man's chief desire were to get somewhere else than the place in which he happens to be at any given moment. Primitive man could communicate only over short

distances,—mainly by means of his voice,—could travel only by means of his own organs of locomotion, and could transport only such goods as he could carry on his back. Whether the boat or the beast of burden was the first improved means of transportation is not known, but they both served man's purposes for thousands of years. Certain African tribes were skillful boatmen, but none of them are known to have domesticated animals. With marvelous technique the American Indians had produced the canoe and were masters of the art of propelling it, but until the Europeans reintroduced the horse on this continent there had been no beasts of burden except the llama. The prehistoric inhabitants of Asia and Europe had both domestic animals and boats. They settled on or near rivers and built their cities there in order to have avenues of transportation by means of which the population could be fed. Next in importance to rivers were the ancient caravan routes as factors in determining the location of cities.

The network of Roman roads discloses the value the practical Romans placed upon communication. From Hadrian's Wall in Scotland to the Eternal City, fleet horses were used to carry the news from the outlying provinces. It has been said that within eighteen days dispatches from the most distant parts of the empire could be sent to headquarters. Transportation of supplies for its cities as well as for its armies was facilitated by these hard-surfaced roads. The Roman roads have never been surpassed in durability, whatever they may have lacked in smoothness. Even with the mechanical progress of our own time the best of our hard-surfaced roads can scarcely compare in durability with those of Rome, though it will take a few hundred years to determine this with certainty. The successes of the Roman armies are explained in part by the advantages which lay in the system of communication that bound parts of the empire together and permitted the rapid concentration of armies and of supplies for the maintenance of great armies.

Roads in early colonial times. This historical background is necessary to a full understanding of the rural life of America. In the earliest times in our colonial history walking and horse-

back riding were the common means of transportation where seacoast and rivers did not furnish water transportation. The turnpike roads during the colonial period played a large part in the expansion of the agricultural land and the development of the colonies. The first of these were built by the engineers of the English armies. Braddock's Road was a case in point. The old Cumberland Road came to be the basis of a great system of highways projected by the Federal government in its early history, and it was eventually extended as far as Vandalia, Illinois. When the states gave up their claims to Western lands and formed the national domain, these lands became a factor in the unification of the country. The new states, being the creatures of the national government, could not present very strong claims to independence or sovereignty. Scarcely less important in the unification of the country were the roads that permitted communication and transportation between the different states and between the Atlantic seaboard and the great interior valley. Rivers, canals, and wagon roads were the arteries through which commerce and ideas flowed.

To reach the Western lands, nature had marked out several highways. Beginning at the north we have the Hudson and Mohawk rivers furnishing a combination of water transportation and easy overland travel. The founding of Rochester in 1812 led to the rapid development and settlement of the level country to the west, over which roads were easily constructed. The old Boston Post Road from Boston to New York, following the narrow but relatively level coastal plain, supplemented the water transportation between those two important cities. The Bedford Road from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, covering more than three hundred and fifty miles, had its beginning in these early movements of the people from the east to the west. Another road, sometimes referred to as Braddock's Road, from Alexandria, Virginia, to Pittsburgh, helped to supply the same need. From Alexandria and Richmond the upper Roanoke formed a natural highway to the Holston River in Tennessee. Thence, through the Cumberland Gap, the way was open to Kentucky. From South Carolina and Georgia the immigrant followed the

southern coastal plain to the Mississippi Territory and New Orleans, and later to Texas.

Some of these roads were doubtless mere trails for pack horses, but they were soon made suitable for wheeled vehicles; and the Conestoga wagon, made of wood and covered with a canvas top spread over bows, constituted the best means of transportation. These roads, bordered much of the way by the wilderness, led across swamps and unbridged streams. Hotel accommodations were extremely primitive and provided with few conveniences. Road metal was not always abundant for surfacing, and sometimes plank roads were constructed by private companies, heavy tolls being charged to pay the cost.

Those who have grown up in Western prairie states are accustomed to roads that follow section lines and that run either north and south or east and west. These early roads, however, followed the contour of the country rather than section lines. On them even the swiftest vehicle seldom covered as much distance in twelve hours as an automobile now easily covers in one.

Waterways as highways. In the great interior, however, the Mississippi River and its many tributaries furnished the first means of communication. Flatboats were used on the Ohio, the Muskingum, the Wabash, the Tennessee, the Cumberland, and even smaller tributaries of the Mississippi. A few keel boats were constructed for the navigation of these rivers, but the most pretentious and perhaps the most comfortable of the early river craft were rafts. Some of these were of large size and carried houses, live stock, and household goods. The joy of travel was sometimes interrupted by river pirates and by Indians. Floating downstream was fairly comfortable, but sometimes it was necessary to pole one's craft upstream, which was an exceedingly laborious process.

Robert Fulton, in 1807, demonstrated that boats could be propelled by steam power. This brought great improvement in river transportation. Even the Western rivers were soon navigated by steam power, thus facilitating not only the settlement of the lands bordering on these rivers but the marketing of the produce of the farms.

The canal period. The most significant event in water transportation in the interior of the country was the completion of the Erie Canal in 1824. This gave water communication from the Atlantic seacoast to the shores of all the Great Lakes, and furnished an outlet by water for the products of that vast area. It was the chief factor in the rapid development of the great Northwest and enabled it to outstrip the West and Southwest, which had formerly taken precedence. From the urban point of view it produced an equally important result: it elevated New York from a subordinate position to that of first city on the continent. The reason for this vast change is perhaps summed up in the statement that the freight rate from Lake Erie to the Atlantic seaboard dropped from $120 to $19 a ton. The floods of agricultural products that flowed through this canal from the great interior to the Atlantic seaboard made New York what it soon became. During the ten years from 1820 to 1830 the population of New York practically doubled. The importance of the Great Lakes as avenues of transportation was created by the Erie Canal. This in turn made Chicago the second city on the continent. Except for this influence the chief cities doubtless would have been on the Potomac, the Ohio, and the Mississippi; in other words, they would have been Baltimore, Alexandria, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and New Orleans.

When the early travelers over these highways of the Middle West made their settlements, they repeated substantially the life of the early colonists on the Atlantic seaboard. The land had to be cleared of trees and stumps, log houses had to be built, and towns had to be founded. Not until the coming of the railroads did the life of the pioneer undergo any important change.

The period of railroads. Railroad construction began in 1830. It is perhaps well at this point to digress long enough to point out that the real America, as we now know it, began about 1830. Of course, this is something of an exaggeration, because the foundation of all that followed had been laid in the two previous centuries; but about 1830 American life entered upon a distinctly new phase. The first of the distinctly Western type of statesmen began to appear in the persons of Clay, Jackson,

Cass, Harrison, and a long line of successors, the greatest of whom was Lincoln. In addition to the beginning of railroad-building, this year marks the beginning of the era of farm machinery and of the dominance of the Western pioneer in national politics. Before 1830 practically every operation on the farm except plowing, harrowing, and the hauling of loads was done by human muscles. Corn was planted and husked by hand; wheat was broadcast by hand, reaped by either the sickle or the cradle, and threshed by means of a flail. Soon after 1830 power-driven machinery began to displace the simple tools, and animal power began to displace human muscles as motive power.

Railway development, however, did not make headway until after 1842. Then trunk lines began to be formed, joining the Atlantic seaboard with points in the interior. Soon after 1869 several transcontinental lines were completed, and thus the entire continent was bound together with bands of steel.

Railroads and rural life. The rapid development of railway transportation exerted a profound influence on rural life in western America. The early pioneer in the Middle West had virtually cut himself off from Eastern markets except for such articles as could stand the excessive cost of transportation. Live stock could be driven over the mountains, and certain products representing high prices and small bulk could stand the cost. In general the Western farmer had to live a self-sufficing life and not depend upon markets. The general effect of railroad-building was to transform Western farming from the self-sufficing type to the commercial type; that is, from the type in which the farmer grew crops for subsistence to the type in which he grew crops for sale, and under which his prosperity depended quite as much upon the condition of the market as upon the size of his crop.

The rapid development of railway-building stimulated the rapid expansion of agriculture and contributed to the lowering of the prices of agricultural products. Lower prices, of course, resulted in dissatisfaction on the part of the farmers who were compelled to accept them. Very naturally, but not very intelligently, they blamed the railroads, and during the seventies

many attempts were made to curb the power of railroads by legislation. The so-called Granger Laws culminated in the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, which has ever since formed the basis of the legislative policy of the Federal government toward railroads.

It is difficult to overestimate the influence of railway-building, not only on agriculture itself but on the balance between agriculture and urban activities. For example, river transportation favored the South rather than the North, because the great artery of the Mississippi ran north and south and tended to make Southern seaports the outlets for the products of the great interior. From one point of view it looks as if the great arteries of trade should run north and south instead of east and west. Climatic differences produce differences of products, and commerce is based upon the exchange of such special products as result from a territorial division of labor. A great deal of the early commerce of the world was based upon climatic differences. The rapid development of the railways, however, emphasized another distinction which was not climatic in character. This was the distinction between densely and sparsely populated areas. It enabled the densely populated areas to specialize in those industries in which labor is the principal factor and land a minor factor, — manufacturing, for example, — and to draw upon other areas for such products as required large quantities of land and little labor, that is, the products of sparsely populated areas. In other words, it so emphasized this distinction as to make the chief commerce of the country that between the manufactures of the East and the agriculture of the West, rather than between the agriculture of the North, producing hay, grain, and live stock, and the agriculture of the South, producing sugar, tobacco, and cotton. What will happen when the population is evenly distributed between East and West is difficult to predict. When the West does its own manufacturing and does not need to transport such things from the East, and when the East produces its own food and hence does not need to transport such things from the West, will the distinction between densely populated and sparsely populated areas furnish

the chief occasion for commerce, or will the distinction between Northern and Southern products furnish the chief occasion, and thus turn the principal currents of freight from East and West to North and South? In other words, will climatic differences again become the chief reason for territorial division of labor and commerce?

At any rate, the coming of the railroads succeeded in linking the great interior to the East rather than to the South. It is not improbable that this alone was sufficient to turn the balance in favor of the North when secession became a vital issue. If the chief dependence had been on river transportation, it is possible that the interests of the great West would have been linked to those of the South rather than to those of the north Atlantic. To take a single example, the dissatisfaction which led to the Whisky Insurrection in western Pennsylvania was due to the lack of communication with the country to the east of the Alleghenies. At that time Washington wrote to the governor of Virginia as follows:

> The Western settlers stand as it were on a pivot. The touch of a feather will turn them any way. They have looked down the Mississippi until the Spaniards, very impolitely I think for themselves, threw difficulties in their way; and they looked that way for no other reason than because they could glide gently down the same, without considering, perhaps, the difficulties of the voyage back again, and the time necessary to perform it in; and because they had no other means of coming to us but by long land transportation and unimproved roads.

The desire to bind the Western settlers to the East and to wean them away from the Spaniards on the south was a motive for the building of highways across the mountains. The coming of the railways completed the work.

The coming of the automobile. Next to the building of the railroads the automobile has been the most important transportation factor in the life of rural people. As a means of transporting goods it cannot compete with the railroad for long-distance hauling, but for short-distance hauling it is an effective competitor. Probably there will be a division of labor, the railroad

specializing in long-distance hauling, and the automobiles and trucks in short-distance hauling.

The automobile's chief influence on farm life, however, is not in the transportation of goods or crops but in providing a means of locomotion for human beings. Isolation has long been recognized as one of the disadvantages of farm life. Anything that enables farmers to cover longer distances in shorter time increases the number of contacts with neighbors. It enlarges the neighborhood and tends toward a higher civilization, for the frequent contact of mind with mind is one of the most powerful stimulants to intellectual activity. It was the need for this contact that gave rise to human speech. The isolation of farm life has been a limitation upon the power of communication, but now that the automobile has brought more neighbors within reach of one another, the possibilities of stimulating contact among rural people have been greatly increased.

The rural telephone and wireless telegraphy are almost as important as the automobile. When a farm family in the semi-arid West can, by means of the radio, listen to a concert or a lecture in a city on either seacoast, it looks as if the isolation of farm life were almost at an end. When farmers can sit in their own homes and receive by radio the latest information from the state colleges and experiment stations, and the latest market reports, another supposed disadvantage of rural life — namely, the difficulty of getting up-to-date information on matters affecting the farmers' business — has disappeared. When the rural telephone enables the farm family to converse intimately and frequently with a wide circle of acquaintances, farm people need no longer stagnate for want of the mental stimulation that comes from frequent contact of mind with mind. Finally, now that improved highways and powerful automobiles enable the farmer to whiz through space at almost incredible speed, to attend meetings for business, religious, social, educational, or recreational purposes, and to meet there men and women whose homes are scattered over wide areas, the urbanist has few advantages over the dwellers in the open fields in matters of educational and social intercourse.

QUESTIONS

1. Which is worse, the isolation of farm life or the congestion of city life?

2. Which is the more important basis for territorial division of labor, differences of climate or the difference between density and sparseness of the population?

3. What influence do you think railroad-building had in preserving the Union from actual and possible secession movements?

4. What do you regard as the most important agencies for removing the isolation of farm life?

5. Suppose freight rates on farm products were made much lower. Would the farmers get the benefit in the form of higher prices at the farm or would the consumers get the principal benefit in the form of lower prices at the stores?

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CHAPTER XII

LAND POLICIES AND RURAL WELFARE

Nature gave us our land; what we do with it is a matter of our own institutions, laws, policies, and habits. The land policy of our government is almost as important, as affecting our welfare, as the land itself.

Land defined. Land, in its broadest possible sense, might be defined as the whole of nature, outside of man and the specific products of his own labor. In this broad and unrestricted sense, however, it would mean the same as the general physical or geographical environment which was the subject of Chapter III. There is, however, a special or restricted sense in which the word "land" is commonly used. When we speak of the land of a nation or a tribe, we mean that particular section of the earth's surface which it occupies or controls. Similarly, when we speak of land as a form of private property, we mean a small section of the earth's surface. It is the ownership of a definite bit of surface that gives the possessor something which he can manipulate to his own advantage.

There are certain other things, however, that always go with a section of the earth's surface for the simple reason that they cannot ordinarily be detached from it. The support furnished by that which lies beneath the surface, the very solidity of the earth itself, is necessary, or there would not be any surface. Again, the air above any large area could not be shut off by any ordinary structure, at least not without control of the surface itself. Sunlight, rain, and a number of other things are ordinarily assumed to go with the land on which they naturally fall. At any rate, custom usually assigns these things to the community or to the individual who has control of a bit of land surface. When it comes to making transfers from one person to another, or from one nation to another, it would seem necessary

to include all these things with land. How to transfer a definite portion of the stream of sun's rays except by transferring the land on which they fall would be a puzzling question. This definition of land does not include such things as men put upon it, or which they can easily remove from the particular bit of surface in question.

Land of chief importance to agriculture. In the absolute sense, land is, of course, just as essential to manufacturing and merchandising as to agriculture, but there is a relative sense in which it is more essential to agriculture than to other industries. No country is likely to find that it cannot expand its manufacturing or its commerce for lack of land. These industries require so little space in proportion to the numbers employed, or to the value created, as to free them from the limitation of lack of room. Agriculture, on the other hand, requires so much land in proportion to the numbers employed, or to the numbers to be fed, as to make lack of room a limiting factor. No country will ever lack space for all the factories it can man, but it may lack space for all the farms its growing population can operate, or to grow the crops that all its people require.

The growing of plants, which is the basic form of agriculture, requires generous spaces for the plants to spread their roots to the soil and moisture and their leaves to the air and sunlight. No matter how abundantly we supply other things, such as seed, water, and chemical fertilizer, there is a limit to the number of plants that can grow on an acre. When we try to crowd them too much, they will shade or strangle one another. Even in a tropical jungle, where fertility, moisture, and sunlight are at their maximum, Robert Louis Stevenson saw a terrific struggle among the contending plants, which he graphically expressed in the following lines[1]:

> Contending roots fought for the soil
> Like frightened demons: with despair
> Competing branches pushed for air.
> Green conquerors from overhead
> Bestrode the bodies of their dead.

[1] From "The Woodman."

Into the balance of this deathly struggle man throws his own feeble strength, but with a cunning that is almost satanic — or divine, according to our philosophy. By taking sides with those plants which he can use, and attacking those which he cannot (to which he gives the opprobrious name "weeds"), man enables his own friends to win the struggle and occupy the land — and then he eats them. However, it is by this means that larger numbers of men are enabled to live, that larger quantities of solar energy are transformed into a special form of energy called human life, or, if one is able to see it in this light, that physical energy is elevated into that which most resembles an intelligent creator, namely, intelligence.

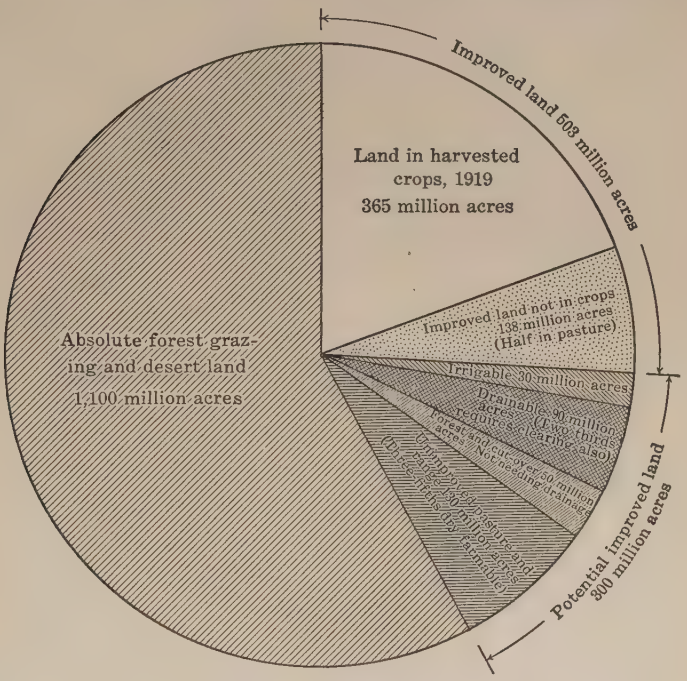
Land the limiting factor in population. It is lack of room which limits the number of plants that can grow in a given area, and gives rise to the struggle for survival among them. It is also lack of room which, in the last analysis, limits the quantity of food that can be grown by farmers; and the lack of food, in the last analysis, limits the number of people who can live. Agriculture now is, and must continue to be, an industry requiring wide spaces and vast areas of land surface. In this sense, land is a more important factor in agriculture than in the concentrated industries. Lack of room for factory sites could never be a reason why any nation should desire to expand its territories. Lack of room for farms might be a very good reason for such expansion.

The problem of utilizing the land already within the boundaries of a nation is the problem of first importance. To make this land produce more food, or more things that can be exchanged for food grown in other countries, will permit an increase of population without either territorial expansion or a lowering of the standard of living. The first thing to consider in a study of the problem of land utilization is the use that is already being made of the national area.

The chart on the following page, from the Yearbook of the Department of Agriculture for 1921, shows the distribution of land among the various uses in the United States.

The total area of land in farms in the United States in 1910 amounted to something over 878,000,000 acres. By 1920 it had

increased to something over 955,000,000 acres. Of this total area in farms, over half was tillable both in 1910 and in 1920, though the percentage of tillable land in 1920 was a little larger than in 1910. It is customary also to distinguish between improved farm land and unimproved. In 1920 improved farm land was


Improved land 503 million acres
Land in harvested crops, 1919
365 million acres
Improved land not in crops
138 million acres
(Half in pasture)
Irrigable 30 million acres
Drainable 90 million acres (Two-thirds requires clearing also)
Forest and cut-over 60 million acres (Requiring drainage)
Cut-over and open land 80 million acres (Three-fifths requires fertilizer)
Absolute forest grazing and desert land
1,100 million acres
Potential improved land
300 million acres

USE OF THE LAND, PRESENT AND POTENTIAL

Land area of United States, 1,903,000,000 acres

nearly 25 per cent of the whole. Up to 1900 the improved land in farms increased more rapidly than our population. Since then it has been increasing less rapidly than the population.

The fact that productive farm land for many years was increasing more rapidly than the population will help to explain the general depressed condition of agriculture during that period. Crop areas and crops were increasing more rapidly than our home consumers. Since 1900 our own home consumers have been increasing a little more rapidly than crop areas and crops.

If this continues indefinitely in the future, as in all probability it will, it augurs well for American agriculture, but it means that city populations must probably pay more for what they eat.

The land question. Every people with whose history we are acquainted has had its land problem. Ownership has been universal, at least since historic times. By ownership in its broad sense is meant the special claim of an individual or groups of individuals to special areas, either as hunting grounds, pastures, or plow lands. When the hunting tribe claims certain areas as its own special hunting preserves, and uses force to defend its title and drive out marauders, we have the essence of property, though in this case it may be tribal or communal property rather than family or individual property.

Communal property in land was the natural system in the hunting stage. Wild game could not be confined to any particular piece of land; it wandered at will from one bit of land to another; and the tribe that expected to thrive by hunting could not very well allot its hunting grounds in small plots to individual hunters. Even in the pastoral stage, when men made their living mainly by pasturing cattle, they sometimes had to wander from one piece of pasture land to another at different seasons of the year — to the high mountains in midsummer and to the valleys in midwinter — and allow their animals to graze on the intervening land on the way up and down the mountain. Where this was the case, something resembling communal land, or possibly a compromise between communal and individual landholdings, was necessary.

Family ownership of land. Even after the stage of tillage was reached, communal land remained the rule with many tribes and in many places. However, the custom developed rather early for each family to have its plot of land assigned to it for purposes of growing crops. This assignment may have lasted for only one year, a redistribution of the farming plots occurring each spring. The old tradition lived for many years in spite of its disadvantages and the inefficiency of the system of farming which developed under it. This system, however, caused certain difficulties which sooner or later brought about a change. Each

family, instead of being assigned a new plot of land each year, was assigned the same plot year after year until this custom was established and the family became the permanent owner of the plot of land which it cultivated. Without some such change modern agriculture could hardly have developed, and no modern nation could have fed as many people as it now feeds.

Even after land became family property instead of tribal or communal property, it was a long time before it became a merchantable commodity to be bought and sold as other commodities are. The land belonged to the family in perpetuity, and no member of that family was empowered to sell the family property and thus deprive unborn generations of their birthright. The Hebrew year of jubilee was an interesting variation of this idea. Under the Hebrew law a plot of land could be sold for a period of years, but at the year of jubilee, which came every fifty years, the land must revert to the living members of the original family. At any time between jubilee years it could be sold only for the time that remained before the next jubilee. Thus a certain amount of buying and selling was permitted, whereas at the same time the future generations of each family were safeguarded in the ownership of the family estate.

Concentration of ownership. After land had become a merchantable commodity to be bought and sold freely as other commodities are, many new problems arose. One of these was the question of the concentration of ownership. Where land is bought and sold freely, one person can buy large tracts. In this way there may be built up a landed aristocracy surrounded by a large landless population. As a matter of fact, however, those countries in which land is a merchantable quantity do not show this tendency. They do not have as large estates or as large a landless population as those countries in which land is held in entailed estates. In other words, there are economic forces that automatically check the tendency toward the building up of great landed estates in this country. In Mexico, in England, in Italy, and in various other parts of the world where land is not bought and sold like other things, we still have the antiquated system of large estates and large landless populations.

The protests against private ownership. There have always been voices lifted in protest against private ownership of land. To have told an Indian hunter that there were countries in which one man might own a piece of land and prohibit anyone from hunting upon it would have made him thank the Great Spirit that he did not live there. To have told a primitive plowman in an agricultural village community that some day the communal lands of his village would be bought and sold like other commodities would have caused him to thank his gods that he would not live to see such degenerate days. Probably no generation, from that day to this, has been without its voices of protest. The attempted reforms of the Gracchi in Rome were reforms aiming to correct some of the abuses that were already developing under private ownership. From Cade's Rebellion in England down to the sand-lot riots in San Francisco there were always rebels against the existing system of land tenure or the tendencies of the times.

Since 1870 most of these protests have been voiced in the language of Henry George in his book entitled "Progress and Poverty." He attempts to answer the question Why, in spite of all our improvements in the arts of production, does poverty persist? He thought that he had found the answer in the private ownership of land. It is the landowner, according to him, who absorbs all the benefit of improvements in the arts of production, leaving the laborer no benefits or advantages. Henry George did not, of course, propose to go back to the primitive system of culture in which the land was not only held in common by all members of the village community but was also assigned in plots from year to year for purposes of cultivation. He realized that there must be permanency of tenure in order that large-scale improvements and far-sighted agricultural plans might mature. Therefore it was not proposed that owners be deprived of the use of their land or that families should not continue to hold their land in perpetuity if they cared to do so. He merely proposed that the government should tax each plot of land for the exact sum for which it would rent, apart from the improvements. While, under this plan, the government

would be nominally collecting a tax from the owners, it would really be collecting rent from them, reducing them to the position of perpetual tenants. Under these conditions, he thought, no one would care to hold any more land than he needed in his business. The building up of large landed estates would be made impossible, and everyone who wanted a piece of land for use could get it by becoming virtually a tenant of the government but calling his payments taxes instead of rent.

However, in spite of rather active propaganda by a number of zealous disciples of Henry George, the movement has not yet made much progress. One explanation may be that the abuses which Henry George predicted have not shown themselves in such magnitude as to alarm the average voter. Land ownership in this country is still pretty widely diffused, especially the ownership of agricultural land. Not many landowning farmers are willing to sacrifice their own property in land in order to attack or to abolish the ownership of city and village land along with that of farm land.

The People's party in 1890 was somewhat influenced by the single-taxers and made some faint-hearted proposals for the control of land ownership. The Non-Partisan League later sponsored a proposal to separate improvements from land value for purposes of special assessments.

Free land in the United States. It has been only a short time since any landless person of mature years and sound mind could become a landowner in the United States by the act of settling upon a quarter section of land, filing a claim in legal form, and living upon it and cultivating a part of it for five years. So long as this was the case it would have been difficult to foment a revolution. To those who claimed access to "God's green earth" the government could say, "God bless you, you may have access to any quarter section you find not already occupied." To be sure, this is not a very satisfactory privilege to a man who wants access not to a quarter section of raw land on the frontier but to a much-desired site on a popular street in a great city. Nevertheless, the disgruntled person could not make much impression on the public mind so long as any free

land was to be had. There is still a little free land, or, rather, land under irrigation projects that can be had by merely paying the cost of irrigation.

Overcrowded conditions in European countries was one of the causes for immigration to this country. The immigrants came seeking homes in the New World. The expression "overcrowded conditions," however, is always a relative term. What would be meant by an absolutely overcrowded condition would be difficult to define. It could be easily shown that in the United States there was more land per farmer or per farm worker than in those older countries. It was also indisputable that the farm workers were better off in the United States than in those old countries. It was not very difficult for intelligent people to reach the conclusion that the possession of more land was an advantage rather than a disadvantage. Therefore large numbers of people in the countries where the acreage of farm land per man was small came to this country, where acreage of farm land per man was large and where each of them could get a sizable plot of that land. In other words, by comparison with the United States those countries were overcrowded, or relatively to those countries the United States was undercrowded. It is interesting to note, but not surprising to anyone who knows the most elementary principles of economics, that migrations are uniformly from relatively overcrowded to relatively undercrowded areas, and not in the opposite direction.

As a result of the policy of giving free land to actual settlers, and of the enormous migration to the Western lands, not only from the Eastern states but from the European countries, the farm area of the United States developed by leaps and bounds, and the country witnessed such an agricultural expansion as the world had probably never witnessed before and may never witness again. Practically every acre of productive farm land in the humid belt is now occupied and is under some form of cultivation. In the arid regions of the Far West land is being occupied as rapidly as irrigation systems can be built. Even the area of dry farming is spreading rapidly, although here the

method of trial and error seems to be the rule. A great many dry-farming experiments are tried, but only a few may really succeed, the reason being that it is difficult to tell in advance whether in a given region dry farming will pay. Multitudes of dry farms have been abandoned for the simple reason that they did not pay. On the other hand, multitudes of dry farms are still in operation and are apparently making their occupants a good living. This rapid bringing under cultivation of the entire tillable area of a continent is one of the greatest achievements of the human race.

Number and size of farms. On January 1, 1920, according to the Federal census, there were 6,448,343 farms in the United States as compared with 6,361,502 in 1910. There was an increase, however, of only 1.4 per cent in the number of farms during that decade. An increase in the total acreage of improved land in farms was somewhat greater than the increase in farms. The following table gives the number of farms, by size, for the two census periods of 1920 and 1910.[1]

Group by Size	1920	1910	Increase		Distribution by Per Cent	
			Number	Per Cent	1920	1910
Total	*6,448,343*	*6,361,502*	*86,841*	*1.4*	*100.0*	*100.0*
Under 20 acres	796,535	839,166	− 42,631	− 5.1	12.4	13.2
20 to 49 acres	1,503,732	1,414,376	89,356	6.3	23.3	22.2
50 to 99 acres	1,473,745	1,438,069	36,676	2.6	22.9	22.6
100 to 174 acres	1,449,630	1,516,286	− 66,656	− 4.4	22.5	23.8
175 to 499 acres	1,006,477	978,175	28,302	2.9	15.6	15.4
500 to 999 acres	149,819	125,295	24,524	19.6	2.3	2.0
1000 and over	67,405	50,135	17,270	34.4	1.0	0.8

There have been some interesting changes in the average size of American farms. In 1850 the average size was 202.6 acres. In 1880 it had declined to 133.7 acres. In 1900 the average had increased to 146.2 acres. In 1910 the average size once again declined to 138.1 acres. One probable reason for the decline between 1850 and 1880 was the breaking up of the large cotton plantations in the South as a result of the Civil War. Between

[1] Fourteenth Census of the United States, Vol. VI, Part II, p. 18.

1880 and 1900 a slight increase was easily to be accounted for by the rapid development of the farming states on the eastern edge of the great plains, where the average holding was a little larger than in the eastern half of the United States. By 1910 there was a slight decline in the average size, probably due to the dividing of a good many farms among the heirs of the estates of deceased persons.

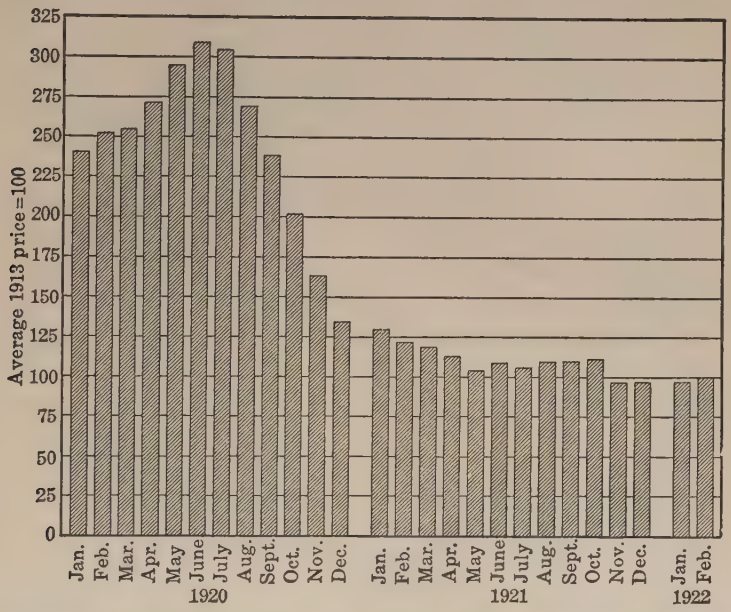
The table on the preceding page shows also some interesting changes in farms of special classes. There was a decrease in the farms of under 20 acres and another decrease in the group between 100 and 175 acres, an increase in the group between 20 and 49 acres and between 50 and 99 acres, a much larger percentage of increase in the group from 500 to 999 acres, and the largest of all in the farms of over 1000 acres. Since the large grazing farms in the arid regions count as farms, and since there have been considerable increases in the number of sheep and cattle ranges in the Far West, this probably explains the increase in the relatively small number of farms of 1000 acres or over.

AVERAGE VALUE OF FARM PROPERTY PER FARM AND PER ACRE, 1920 AND 1910

	Average Value per Farm		Average Value per Acre	
	1920	1910	1920	1910
All farm property	$12,084	$6444	$81.52	$46.64
Land and buildings	10,284	5471	69.38	39.60
Land alone	8,503	4476	57.36	32.40
Buildings	1,781	994	12.02	7.20
Improvements and machinery	557	199	3.76	1.44
Live stock	1,243	774	8.38	5.60

Value of farm property. Some misunderstanding of actual facts has arisen since land values in certain states rose to such absurd heights in 1919. The total value of farm property in 1920 was estimated to be $77,924,100,338, as compared with $40,991,449,090 in 1910. This represents an increase of 90.1 per cent. Land and buildings, however, constitute more than five sixths of the total value of farm property, and these two items

increased because of the swollen prices of 1919. Much of that enormous increase in value was purely nominal and not real. The average value of all property per farm was $12,084 in 1920 as compared with $6444 in 1910. Real-estate value in 1920



THE SLUMP IN PRICES OF TEN LEADING FARM CROPS. WEIGHTED AVERAGE, JANUARY, 1920, TO FEBRUARY, 1922

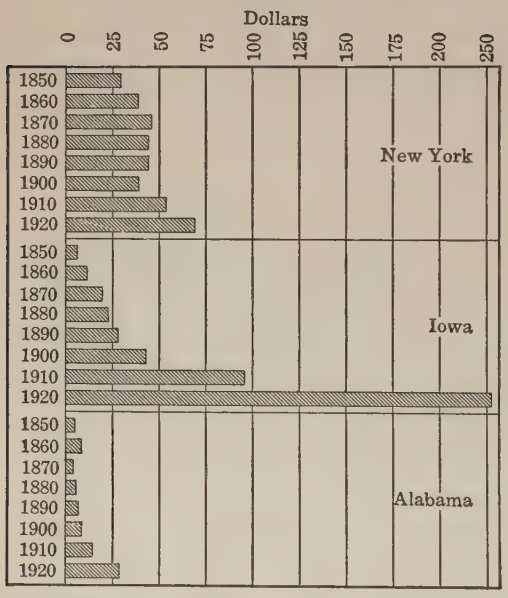
During the latter half of 1920 the average price in the United States of the ten leading crops dropped 57 per cent, and by May, 1921, was only one third that of the preceding June. In November, 1921, this average price passed below the 1913 level. The magnitude of this decline in price varied with the different crops and in different regions. In Iowa, for instance, the farm price of corn in the autumn of 1921 was only half that in 1913 and one fourth that in 1919

was $10,284; in 1910 it was $5471. Again the inflated prices of 1919 make this increase largely nominal rather than real. The table on the opposite page shows the facts regarding farm property somewhat in detail.

If the figures had been taken in 1921 instead of for the year 1919, a very different story would appear. The graph above, taken from the Yearbook of the United States Department of

Agriculture, 1921, p. 12, shows the slump in prices of ten leading farm crops during the years 1920–1921 and part of 1922.

The following graph from the same source shows the range of farm values in three states, representing the East, the South, and the Middle West, from 1850 to 1920. The land boom in Iowa is graphically portrayed.



VALUE OF FARM LAND PER ACRE FOR CENSUS YEARS 1850–1920

Conservation of land. The prosperity of our people in the future depends partly on how well we conserve the land and all that is included in the definition of land. The weather, the sunlight, and the physical properties of solidity and extension are beyond our power to change. There are certain other properties of land, however, that are within our control and may be conserved and improved, or dissipated and lost, according as we are wise or unwise in our use of them. Among these properties is the fertility of the soil.

The most important phase of conservation of natural resources is that of plant food in the soil of agricultural areas. Plant food is not only the most important of all natural resources, exceeding in value all the forests, minerals, and water power combined; it is also one of the most easily wasted of all our resources. One means of preserving the fertility of our soil is the conservation of the natural or animal manure. As stated before, the annual product of animal manure, when reduced to

a commercial basis, has a value exceeding that of the annual timber cut and the annual mineral production combined. If, as is conservatively estimated, half of this now goes to waste, it involves a loss to the country equal to that which would result from the wasting of half the timber harvest and half the annual mineral output. It is therefore of great importance that there should be a campaign for the conservation of animal manure as well as of the fertility already in the soil. The proper terracing and draining of the land and the scientific rotation of crops are perhaps even more important than the conservation of animal manure as a means of preserving this greatest of all natural resources.

Without making it a political issue the various agencies for the promotion of sound agriculture in this country are working without regard to party lines for those agricultural policies that will result in soil conservation. The surest way of bringing about conservation of the soil is to make this of paramount interest to those who work the soil.

Land settlement. Most important of all problems with respect to land is that of bringing it under cultivation and use. It is sometimes said to be the problem of getting the landless man on the manless land. We have already seen that the policy in this country in the past was mainly one of encouraging individual settlement: first, by selling land at a low price; secondly, by favoring the actual settler and giving him the first chance to bid on public land; and, finally, by actually giving the land to the settler under the Homestead Law. After the exhaustion of the moist lands that could be brought under cultivation by individual effort, other policies had to be adopted, especially with irrigable lands.

Irrigation, to be economically successful, must be developed on a large scale. For that reason the individual settler is helpless except in a few favorable instances where a small ditch may supply him with the needed water. In order that any considerable portion of the irrigable lands in the Far West could be irrigated at all, more extensive and larger-scale irrigation projects had to be developed. Coöperative enterprises among large

numbers of settlers accomplished much in this direction, especially among the Mormons, who were the pioneer irrigators among the white race in this country. Greeley (Colorado) and a few other similar enterprises among the non-Mormons were conspicuous successes. Joint-stock companies were also formed in many places to build irrigation systems by much the same form of business organization as built our railroads and factories and opened and operated our mines. However, comparatively few of these joint-stock irrigation companies succeeded financially. The only satisfactory explanation is that most of them were premature. They undertook to build irrigation systems before there was a demand strong enough to justify a price that would pay the cost of the system. Government enterprises, commonly known as reclamation projects, have now taken their places.

From one point of view, reclamation projects have succeeded; from another point of view, they have generally failed. As engineering feats they have been remarkable successes. They have reclaimed a great many millions of acres and have created farms where farms did not exist before. Financially, however, they are as yet, with few exceptions, as great failures as were the joint-stock corporations; that is, most of them have not actually paid the cost. The reason is probably the same as that which explains the failure of the joint-stock corporations, namely, prematureness. There was no sufficiently strong demand for the products of the reclaimed lands to give them a value equal to the cost of reclamation. The joint-stock corporation could not tax its stockholders enough to pay the cost. When it could not pay the cost it became bankrupt. The government, however, does not go bankrupt. While, from the purely economic point of view, government projects are no more successful than the coöperative or the joint-stock projects, yet from another point of view they have a great advantage. Since the government has other sources of income, it does not have to pay the cost of irrigation projects out of the receipts. In time, of course, there will be such a demand for agricultural products as to make all these reclamation undertakings a financial success.

Title to land. The relation of the modern agricultural worker to the land on which he works is that of owner, tenant, or hired laborer. The owner, in turn, may be a free owner out of debt or he may be a mortgaged owner. In the latter case the holder of the mortgage is virtually a part owner, though not technically so regarded. The tenant may be a cash tenant, a share tenant, or a combination of the two. The laborer may work for fixed wages, or his wages may depend in part upon the crop and the price at which the crop is sold.

The land policy of the government — that is, its policy with respect to the public lands — has been to transfer the title to individual farmers, thus making them farm owners, rather than to lease the land to tenants or to hire laborers to work it. One departure from this rule is found in the leasing of grazing privileges in forest reserves.

Unless one acquires ownership of land by a grant from the government he must get it by a deed from a private owner. As stated above, land in this country has always been a merchantable commodity freely bought and sold as other commodities are. Consequently there has been no great difficulty in securing title to land if one has had the money with which to purchase it. In some older countries there are so many obstacles in the way of land transfer that even though one has money with which to buy land it is sometimes difficult to acquire title. Even in this country, in some of the older states where land has been transferred many times, and many ancient rules and regulations with respect to land transfer still prevail, difficulties in the way of land transfer are not to be minimized. A good many proposals have been made for the further simplification of the process of transferring land. Among these, one that has made most headway before legislative bodies is what is known as the Torrens system, or the system of registration of titles. Under this system the title to a given piece of land is looked up and verified once and for all. Then if the results of this investigation show that A has a valid title to the piece of land, the fact is recorded. No further tracing of titles is necessary; the record stands as authoritative and final. All that is necessary thereafter is that

A should in legal manner transfer his title to B. This fact is again recorded and B's title is absolute and secure. If he transfers it to C this fact is again recorded, and so on indefinitely. No further tracing of old records or ancient transfers is necessary. This makes it as easy to sell a piece of land and transfer the title as to sell a horse or an automobile.

Effects of easy transfer of land. The social effects of an easy system of transferring land titles are considerable. It prevents the building up of a hereditary landowning, or aristocratic, class. It tends toward the democratization of land and wipes out any distinction that might otherwise develop between landowners and others. Its most important effect, however, is economic. Where land can be freely transferred, the tendency is for each piece of land finally to pass into the hands of the one who can use it most effectively. If B owns a piece of land but is not a very good farmer, whereas A is a very skillful farmer, it would increase the productivity of that land, and to that extent the productivity of the whole nation, if B should transfer his land to A.

If, however, there are many legal obstacles to such a transfer, it may remain indefinitely in the hands of B and his heirs. In some countries legal difficulties in the way of transferring a piece of land are so great as to amount to a heavy tax on the transfer. This tends to discourage the buying and selling of land. Consequently a given piece of land may remain for a long time in the hands of a poor manager when, had there been no such tax, it might have passed into the hands of a more productive owner. If such a condition applies to all the land of the nation, it becomes a serious handicap. When land tends to get into the hands of more efficient producers instead of remaining permanently in the hands of inefficient producers, the wealth of the nation is vastly increased.

Of course land is transferred by inheritance even where it is not a merchantable commodity, or where it is seldom bought and sold. In such cases, however, it usually remains in the same family, regardless of the fitness or the unfitness of the heirs of succeeding generations to manage it productively.

The agricultural ladder.[1] So long as the government had plenty of free land, the would-be farmer, who had some labor power but no land and little capital, could easily acquire ownership in a piece of land on which to employ his labor. In those parts of the country where government land was transferred long ago, the man who lacks capital has no such short cut to farm ownership; yet the road is not closed. If he is a success as a farm hand, he need never be without employment. If he is thrifty and saves his wages, in the course of a few years he can buy himself a farming outfit consisting of a team of horses and a set of farming tools. He is then ready for the next rung of the ladder; that is, he can rent a farm on shares. Having been advanced to the position of share tenant, he is again tested out. If he is a successful farm manager, as he has already proved himself to be a successful farm worker, in a few years he will accumulate more and better equipment and have some working capital ahead to tide him over a rainy day. Having passed this practical test he is now advanced to the third rung of the agricultural ladder; that is, he is advanced to the position of cash tenant, where he assumes full financial responsibility for the farming operation in which he engages. Cash rent in the long run is lower than share rent. If he can meet the conditions now imposed upon him, he makes more money than he did as a share renter; if not, he makes less money.

If he is a good business man as well as a good farmer, and understands the importance of a wise use of capital as well as of a wise use of labor, he is likely to succeed as a cash renter and accumulate still more capital. He is then in a position to advance to the fourth rung of the ladder, namely, the position of mortgaged owner. He can buy a farm and pay part of the price in cash, signing a note secured by a mortgage for the balance. Again, if he is a success he will continue to accumulate. In a few years he will be able to pay off the mortgage and will thus become a free, or unmortgaged, owner.

[1] See W. J. Spillman's "Agricultural Ladder," *American Economic Review*, March, 1919.

This system has been so common in this country as to become almost the normal method by which a landless man acquires land, except on the frontier, where government land is available. By putting every rising farmer through this series of tests we have arrived at an agricultural condition in which American agriculture is highly efficient as measured by the product per man.

Some misguided students of the problem have attempted to measure the efficiency of the American farmer on the basis of the product per acre, but this is not a sound basis of measurement. A large product per acre the world over commonly goes with the impoverishment of the agricultural classes; in other words, those countries that show the greatest product per acre are the countries that show the greatest poverty among the agricultural workers. Those countries that show a large product per man are the only countries in which the workers are well paid and prosperous. When compared on this basis, the American farmer is the most efficient farmer in the world; and, as suggested above, one reason for this, though perhaps not the only reason, is the series of tests through which the typical American farmer has had to go before he became a free land-owning farmer.

The increase of farm tenancy in the United States. The facts regarding farm tenancy in the United States are somewhat complicated. Undoubtedly tenancy is on the increase. To what extent it can be explained by the lengthening of the agricultural ladder is difficult to decide. A number of other factors are frequently mentioned, and some of them are of real help in the explanation. Among these we may note, first, the investment in farm lands by city residents, either as permanent investments or for speculative purposes; and secondly, the retiring of the farm-owners because of age and the turning of farms over to their sons, sons-in-law, or other relatives.

The first of these reasons has apparently played a small part in the increase of tenancy. The farm land has not proved to be a profitable investment for absentee owners. There are not many farms in the United States which it would pay a man in

the city to buy as a long-time investment. Unless he lives very close to the farm and can give it a good deal of attention, he will not find it easy to get enough in the form of rent to enable him to keep up the soil fertility, repairs on buildings and fences, and so forth, pay insurance and taxes, and obtain an income on his investment comparable to what he might get from government bonds or other safe securities. If he spends much time looking after his farm, he must allow himself wages for his time and trouble. If he does not, the deterioration of the farm and its buildings will eventually reduce the value of his investment. If he attempts to prevent this deterioration by adequate expenditure for repairs, manure, etc., it will cut into his income. In short, general experience has shown that farm land is relatively unprofitable as an investment for city investors.

The other reason for the increase of tenancy — the turning over of farms to relatives — is an important one. A fairly large percentage of tenants are found to be relatives of the owners. According to surveys made of 2112 farms in Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, and Minnesota,[1] it was shown that 20 per cent of the farmers had climbed the entire agricultural ladder, 13 per cent skipped the tenant stage, 32 per cent skipped the hired-man stage, and 34 per cent skipped to the ownership directly from their fathers' farms. A tour of inspection through any of the five states referred to will show that the small country towns are to a large extent the homes of retired farmers. They still own their farms and might be classed as absentee landowners, but in many cases the tenants are their own sons, sons-in-law, or other relatives.

Technically this is a form of tenancy, but it is a different kind of tenancy from that painted by alarmists. It carries with it social results that are widely different from the usual results. Under this form the retired farmer acts more or less as a partner in the enterprise, giving advice and occasionally helping with the work on the farm in times of pressure, and frequently extending financial aid to his tenant. The project remains a family enterprise, and the common expectation is that upon the death of the

[1] See J. M. Gillette's "Rural Sociology," p. 284.

owner the title passes to the tenant. Sometimes the retired farmer builds a house on the farm instead of retiring to town. He surrenders only the responsible management and operation to a son or a son-in-law, retaining for the time being his title and becoming virtually a silent partner in the enterprise. Under such conditions, of course, the question of class-conscious distinction between owner and tenant could never by any possibility arise. The owner is still rural-minded, and no cultural difference could develop to thrust a wedge between owners and tenants. Moreover, no agitator could arouse in a tenantry of this kind feelings of hostility toward the landowning class.

Agricultural land settlement. The practical exhaustion of public land has made it almost impossible for men to pursue the short cut from farm worker to farm owner that prevailed in the days of free public land. The long and severe ordeal of climbing the agricultural ladder is discouraging to any but the most courageous. This situation has led to a great many attempts to find new short cuts. Most of these attempts take the form of land colonization by groups of farmers, or would-be farmers, under some sort of supervision, that is, either government supervision or the supervision of some benevolent agency that undertakes to give sound agricultural and economic advice and leadership to the colonists.

This policy of land settlement by groups of farmers has had a special development since the close of the World War. Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and other countries with considerable areas of unimproved land have offered special inducements to veterans to settle under government supervision. The state of California has also inaugurated a policy of land settlement, and at least two colonies have been founded. The preliminary financing is done by the government or the state, though the plan is to make each colony not only self-supporting but able eventually to pay back to the government what was advanced in the early stages. In several of the other states somewhat similar experiments have been tried under the system of coöperation among the settlers, as at Veteransville and Moose Lake in Minnesota and in some of the cut-over lands of Wisconsin, Michigan, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

While it is too early to say that these experiments are failures, it is perfectly evident either that success has not been so great as was anticipated or that success is postponed for a longer time than was anticipated. There are two explanations for this. In the first place, the land open to this kind of settlement is likely to be inferior to the lands already settled and under cultivation. To try to make a living on inferior land when even the farmers on superior land are having a hard time is a doubtful experiment. Another and more general reason is that agriculture is even now overdeveloped in this country; in other words, the demand for agricultural products is oversupplied. The bringing under cultivation of the extra marginal lands must in all probability wait for a generation or two until the demand for farm products is great enough to give them a price that will justify the cultivation of these lands. These two reasons are sufficient to explain the deferred prosperity of these land-settlement experiments. In addition there may be mismanagement; but even under the best management success would be difficult. In some cases the element of land speculation may also enter in as a factor that interferes with success.

The economic side to settlement plans. One problem in economics as yet unsolved is whether it is better to try to provide ready-made farms for the colonists or merely to provide them with the land and let them make their own farms out of this raw material. The ready-made farm costs so much money that the colonist must start with a heavy debt. In the other case he starts with small indebtedness but must face many years of grinding toil before he can build a real farm. Experience seems to be a little more favorable to the latter policy than to the former. The first plan looks the more attractive, of course, to would-be settlers; but when they find that it takes many years to pay off the debt, they sometimes become discouraged.

Those who are obsessed with the idea that work conducted on a large scale is always more efficient than a small-scale enterprise naturally jump to the conclusion that it is more economical to clear the farms and build the buildings as a large-scale enterprise than to have this work done by individual colonists.

Experience, however, has tended to disillusion them. Large-scale work is more efficient where more efficient machines can be used or where greater specialized skill can be developed. Unless there is some definite reason of this kind in favor of large-scale production there is nothing to be said in favor of it as against small-scale production. Failure to observe this distinction has led to some bad mistakes; that is, it has led to some attempts to do on a large scale what could be done more economically on a small scale by individual initiative and individual work.

The whole subject of land colonization is in the experimental stage. Of all land policies, that of colonization is the least understood. There is room for a vast amount of investigation on the subject. However, there is plenty of time for the study of problems of colonization in this country before any real need for it arises. One of the causes of agricultural depressions has been the overstimulation of land settlement and the consequent overproduction of farm crops. It will be many decades before there is a need for the development of a colonization policy in this country.

QUESTIONS

1. Do you approve or disapprove of the policy of permitting one family to own a piece of land to the exclusion of other families? Why?

2. Do you approve or disapprove permitting one nation to control a definite territory to the exclusion of other nations? Why?

3. Is there any essential moral difference between questions 1 and 2?

4. What do you understand by the agricultural ladder? What specific instances do you know in which someone has climbed the ladder? Did he skip any of the rungs?

5. Does the expansion of agricultural area tend to depress the prices of agricultural products? If so, should the government artificially encourage or should it discourage the bringing of new land under cultivation?

6. Should the government encourage the development of small farms, or should the question of the size of farms be left to take care of itself, in the belief that in the long run the most productive size will be worked out by the method of trial and error?

7. Do you think that land should be a merchantable commodity, to be bought and sold as other commodities, or should there be obstacles in the way of transferring land, such as the law of jubilee of the ancient Hebrews, the entailing of estates of medieval England, or a heavy tax on the transfer of titles?

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CHAPTER XIII

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF FARM TENANCY

Causes underlying tenancy. In Chapter XII we have seen how the land problem affects rural institutions in a general way. In this discussion we shall analyze the social aspects of the tenancy problem and see how it has come to be what it is. The former comparative ease in obtaining land no longer exists, and as a result tenancy has increased. There are those who think it will decrease after 1926, but we shall have to wait a while to find out. The main reasons for tenancy may be considered as follows.

One cause is the investment in farm lands by city residents. The urban owner must find someone to operate his farm, and a tenant is sought. Formerly, when the country was new, farms were bought for speculation and held for higher prices. Now that there is less money to be made in that way, city residents will be less anxious to buy farms. Already speculation in land has become exceedingly hazardous, and its effects may be reflected later in the decreasing number of tenants. Urban dwellers certainly will be more wary in entering upon such financial ventures in the near future; so we may look to a recession in the growth of tenancy or at least a momentary check.

Another type of city purchasers may be found who buy farms because they intend to live on them in their declining years, but the number of such persons is so limited that they would scarcely affect the tenant problem. Purchases of that sort are probably desirable, and usually the community is benefited, because in most instances such a buyer improves the farm even if he engages a renter to manage the place for him until he is ready to take it over himself. It would help many communities if persons of this kind were to purchase farms in the neighborhood.

Another cause of tenancy is the retirement of aged farmers. When such a farmer retires, he may rent his farm to a tenant. The psychology of the retired farmer is a peculiar one. He never can become urban in his sympathies. He finds it hard to realize the necessity of improvements demanded by the villagers and townsmen. Being an individualist by nature and experience, he often opposes progress designed to better conditions in the town which is now his home. His conservatism yields slowly to progressive ideas, and village councils often find difficulty in inaugurating measures to improve streets and to make other general improvements, because of the higher taxes.

A third cause for tenancy is the great length of time that it takes to climb the agricultural ladder. As we have pointed out in the preceding chapter, the agricultural ladder is climbed in this way: a young man starts out as a laborer, sometimes on his father's farm but generally not; after a few years he buys a farming outfit and rents land; he next becomes a mortgaged owner, and finally an owner with his farm free from incumbrance. It is very important that the climb from hired man to owner shall be made easy. "Improving the hired man's chances in life is more important than everything else combined. So far as actual earnings and savings are concerned, however, the young man on the farm has a better chance than most young city men."[1]

The table on page 290 compares the annual earnings of farm and city workers in Wisconsin in 1916. The column giving values in the country shows what the laborer gets in addition to his money wage. The next column shows what those extras would cost if he lived in the city. The city prices for the extras furnished by the farm are the ones which should be used whenever one is comparing city and farm incomes.

In comparing the progress of owner and tenants at the time this survey was made, it was found that the present farmers in one county had been tenants only five and one-fifth years, whereas the present tenants had already been tenants six and one-half years, and probably would remain tenants for several years longer.

[1] *Wisconsin Bulletin No. 316*, pp. 44–47, Madison.

The same bulletin gives the following reasons for the longer time now required for farmers to climb the ladder to ownership. "First, hired men do not save as well as they did; second, land values have risen faster than wages; and, third, the amount and cost of equipment and live stock needed by a tenant has increased more than wages." However, Professor von Tungeln has found evidence to show that, for Iowa at least, it does not actually take longer to climb the ladder of ownership than it did in previous decades.

VALUE IN 1916, IN THE COUNTRY AND IN THE CITY, OF THE EXTRAS FURNISHED TO FARM LABORERS[1]

Single Man	Value in the Country	Value in the City
Board and lodging	$219	$283
Washing	18	24
Total	*$237*	*$307*
Married Man		
House rent	$75	$115
Fuel	40	65
Milk	36	50
Butter	12	14
Garden	20	30
Eggs and poultry	25	30
Meat	12	16
Total	*$220*	*$320*

In the Wisconsin survey several hundred hired men were asked how much they needed to spend, and the answers showed that the average needed was $139, whereas they actually spent an average of $243, showing that hired men have the very common human tendency to spend more than they themselves think to be really necessary. The average wage for the years 1916–1917 was $360, which, after deducting the average expenditure of $243, leaves a saving of $117. The land values had risen two thirds between 1900 and 1910, and one and one-half times between 1880 and 1910, while wages had increased only two thirds from 1880 to 1910. Live stock and machinery had increased in value

[1] From *Wisconsin Bulletin No. 316*, p. 44.

nearly three times since 1880. This would seem, on the face of it, to make it more difficult for a hired man to save money enough to begin farming for himself.

The value of such information is very pertinent to the sociologist. In fact, the social significance of tenancy is as great as the economic, and when economists and sociologists begin to coöperate in evaluating the effect of the one upon the other, we shall be able to approach the rural problem more scientifically than heretofore. The need of mathematical accuracy is clearly illustrated by the figures given above.

Farm tenancy in the United States. Ownership is still the characteristic system of land tenure in the United States. Two factors have operated to produce this system, — dear labor and cheap land. When good land is cheap, labor is usually dear, because a man may just as well own his land as to labor for someone else. Since the public lands have become exhausted the way to ownership is no longer so direct. Formerly, if the kind of land a man wanted in the older states was too dear, all he needed was courage to go west and take a claim. Even in the settled sections it was not uncommon for hired men and laborers to become owners, because at that time wages were high enough to enable the laborer to save something. The rising price of land has led some to fear that it will become more and more difficult for hired men and renters to become landowners. They fear that we are gradually approaching a condition in our country when the rural population will be separated into two groups, as they are in many old countries where the distinctions are sharply drawn between the landowners and the landless class. The strife between these two classes, their mutual jealousies and suspicions, present a social problem unpleasant to contemplate. Many attempts have been made in late years to prevent the growth of tenancy; yet it seems to be on the increase today, as shown by the table on page 292 (Fourteenth Census, Vol. VI, Part 3, p. 19).

These figures show that 60.9 per cent of the total number of farms in 1920 were operated by owners and 38.1 per cent by tenants. The other 1.1 per cent were operated by farm

managers. The facts disclose that this increase is positive, though not at a rapid rate. Tenancy in 1880 amounted to 25.6 per cent; in 1890, to 28.4 per cent; in 1900, to 35.3 per cent; and in 1910, to 37 per cent. Thus it appears that the increase in the last decade has been less than in any other period since the census took note of this problem.

NUMBER OF FARMS BY TENURE, 1920 AND 1910

Tenure	Number of Farms		Increase		Distribution by Per Cent	
	1920 [1]	1910	Number	Per Cent	1920	1910
Total	*6,448,343*	*6,361,502*	*86,841*	*1.4*	*100.0*	*100.0*
Owners	3,925,090	3,948,722	− 23,632[2]	− 0.6	60.9	62.1
Owning entire farm	3,366,510	3,354,897	11,613	0.3	52.2	52.7
Hiring additional land	558,580	593,825	− 35,245	− 5.9	8.7	9.3
Managers	68,449	58,104	10,345	17.8	1.1	0.9
Tenants	2,454,804	2,354,676	100,128	4.3	38.1	37.0
Share tenants	1,678,812	1,399,923	278,889	19.9	26.0	22.0
Share-cash tenants	127,922	128,466	− 644	− 0.5	2.0	2.0
Cash tenants	585,005	712,294	− 127,289	− 17.9	9.1	11.2
Unspecified	63,165	113,993	− 50,828	− 44.6	1.0	1.8

Share tenancy. The table above indicates an increase of 278,889 share tenants. The great increase in percentage may be due to the rise in the value of live stock and equipment. The reason commonly ascribed to the prevalence of the share-tenant system is that the risk is less than in cash tenancy. In 1920 there were reported 1,678,812 share tenants as compared with 585,005 cash tenants. Most persons do not care to anticipate a poor crop with low prices after having agreed to pay a cash rent, and many tenants do not possess sufficient capital to enable them to own all the stock and equipment necessary to operate a farm on a cash-rent basis.

From the point of view of the resident landlord it is more profitable to rent on a share basis, because he can give close supervision to young and inexperienced tenants. The social

[1] The 1920 figures include 561,091 croppers reported in Southern states; also 104,996 standing renters reported in Southern states.

[2] The minus sign denotes decrease.

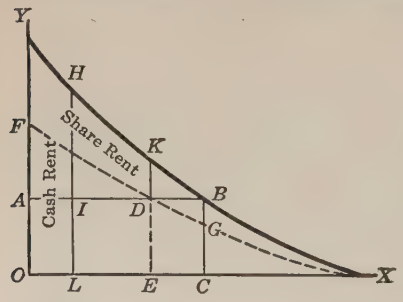
effects of share renting are also more desirable because the owner has not relinquished his interest in his farm, and the tenant is considered a kind of partner. Economically and socially such a relationship operates for the general welfare. If there is a large yield, the benefit to the landlord is welcome; and if there is a small yield, he gets something out of it. Under cash tenancy, on the other hand, if the crop is poor the renter may be unable to pay any of the rent, and the owner will have to stand the entire loss. Experience also teaches us that a renter is much more willing to give a share of the farm products than to pay cash, and thus collecting the rent is facilitated. Then, too, the share renter and the owner need not change the contract if there should happen to be a considerable rise or fall in the value of the products.

Cash renters. The reasons just given may explain why there were only 585,005 cash renters in 1920 as compared with 712,294 in 1910. Men who are in a position to know have emphasized again and again the advantage of the share system. But it must be borne in mind that share tenancy is most successful only when the owner exercises immediate supervision over his farm. If the management must be left entirely to the tenant farmer, as is the case when the owner is an absentee, it is preferable to rent on the cash basis. If the tenant is a capable manager, nothing is gained either by the absentee owner or by the tenant by renting on the share basis. Cash renting in such cases will make it possible for the tenant to earn profits as a result of his ability as manager.

It is a matter of general observation that cash tenancy results in more intensive cultivation than share tenancy, except where the share tenant is closely supervised by the owner. In the latter case, however, it is a question whether the so-called tenant is really a tenant or a hired man working for shares instead of for wages.

There is a fundamental economic reason for the observed fact that cash tenancy leads to more thorough cultivation of the soil than share tenancy. The cash tenant gets all the advantage of his own superior cultivation, whereas the share tenant gets only

a share of that advantage. That is to say, after the cash tenant has produced enough to pay his rent, every additional dollar which he can make the farm produce goes into his own pocket, whereas no matter how much the share tenant adds to the product, he gets only a share of the increase. Under the principle of diminishing returns the cash tenant can afford to increase the intensity of his cultivation up to the point where the additional cost approximates in amount the additional product, whereas the share tenant could afford to carry the cultivation only up to the point where the additional cost would equal in amount *his share* of the additional product. This principle may be illustrated by means of the accompanying diagram.



Let the amount of labor to be expended in the cultivation of the farm be measured along the line *OX*, and the cost along the line *OY*, the cost per unit being represented by the distance *OA*. Also let the curve *YHKBX* represent the product to be secured by successive applications of labor to the cultivation of the soil. The cash tenant will pay a fixed sum for the farm, represented, let us say, by the figure *OYHL*, or the whole product of an amount of labor represented by the line *OL*. After this is paid he gets the whole product of the additional labor, which additional labor is measured in the figure along the line *LX*. According to the figure, he could afford to apply a quantity of labor represented by the line *OC*, since the last unit of that quantity produces a product equal to its cost, both the product and cost of that final unit of labor being represented by the line *BC*.

But a share tenant paying, let us say, one third of the product as rent for the same farm, would get for the successive units of his work only the remaining two thirds of the product, represented by the space below the dotted curve *FDGX*. If he should carry his cultivation to the same degree of intensity,

he would be losing money on a part of his work; that is, if he applied a quantity of labor represented by the line *OC*, the last unit of his work would cost him an amount represented by the line *BC*, but he would get in return for it only an amount represented by the line *GC*. In short, he would find it unprofitable to expend more labor than is represented by the line *OE*, that being the quantity whose final unit yields him as much as it costs him, namely, an amount represented by the line *DE*.

To sum up, under the terms of the diagram a cash tenant would find it to his advantage to expend a quantity of labor represented by the line *OC*, resulting in a total product represented by the figure *OYBC*; whereas the share tenant would find it to his advantage to expend a smaller quantity of labor, represented by the line *OE*, and resulting in a total product represented by the figure *OYKE*. This demonstration proves that cash tenancy is superior to share tenancy as a general economic system, provided the soil can be safeguarded so as to keep the cash tenant from mining or exhausting it during the term of his lease.

Relation of price of land to tenancy. When one speaks of tenancy in the United States, it should be understood clearly what sections of the country the speaker has in mind. Thus, we have the following percentages of tenancy in the various geographic divisions. (The table is taken from the Fourteenth Census of the United States, Vol. VI, Part I, p. 35.)

PER CENT OF ALL FARMS OPERATED BY TENANTS, 1920 AND 1910

Geographic Divisions	1920	1910
New England	7.4	8.0
Middle Atlantic	20.7	22.3
East North Central	28.1	27.0
West North Central	34.2	30.9
South Atlantic	46.8	45.9
East South Central	49.7	50.7
West South Central	52.9	52.8
Mountain	15.4	10.7
Pacific	20.1	17.2

The sociologist is interested in the general fact that where land is high in value the problem of tenancy is greatest. This is equally true from the economic viewpoint. It will be seen in the table above that the increase has been great in the East North Central and the West North Central divisions. A great growth occurred in the West North Central division, where the price of land is the highest. The changes in the other sections, especially in the Mountain and Pacific divisions, are due to other causes than high price of land, namely, to changes in farming and increases in grazing areas. The most promising evidence seems to be the small increase of tenancy in the South Atlantic and West South Central divisions. The growth of negro ownership is regarded by the best authorities as evidence of thrift and hard work.

Tenancy in England. We may profit by turning our attention to England. In spite of the fact that tenancy is the rule in that country, the relations between landlord and tenant are probably better than in any other part of the world. The condition of the numerous class of farm laborers is not so good. The English system proves that good agricultural conditions may exist where the farmer does not own the land, a fact which is contrary to the general opinion among farmers in this country. This statement must not be construed to mean that ownership in land is not, after all, the best system, but it illustrates the fact that a good tenancy system may be better than a poor farmer-ownership system.

In the seventies and eighties much discussion arose in England concerning fair rent, fixity of tenure, and free sales of improvements made by the tenant; but the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1883, and additions to it in 1908, protect the tenant. It is now customary for either the landlord or the tenant to give proper notice of intention to change, and twelve months are usually required. They have come to understand that honesty and fair dealing between landlord and tenant are essential to success in agriculture.

Social effects of tenancy. A close observer will find that conditions prevailing in communities where tenancy predominates

are different from those in sections where ownership is most common. Some of these differences are as follows:

1. Less interest in the welfare of the community is found.
2. Fewer worth-while people are developed.
3. Church life does not thrive.
4. The schools do not flourish.

The tenant's interest in the community. The ordinary tenant cannot be expected to have as much interest in the future growth and development of the community in which he lives as the ordinary owner would have. There are, of course, some exceptions to this rule. In certain parts of the United States many tenants are either sons or relatives of the owners, who are retired farmers. These young tenants are looking forward to ownership in a few years, and their interest in the social life of the community is not less than that of owners. However, in many parts of the country the tenants are in no way attached to the soil. They are farming on short leases and have no permanent interest in the community in which they happen to be living at any particular time. They see no good reason why they should spend their money or energy on schools, churches, libraries, or even roads when, in a few years, they may be living somewhere else and may be getting none of the benefit of the money or energy spent where they are now living. It is this type of tenancy which militates against the building of an agreeable social life. If, at the same time, the owners live in some distant city, there is nobody in the neighborhood with a permanent interest in it or a desire sufficiently strong to lead him to spend a great deal on its permanent improvement. Under such conditions the rural community is likely to lack everything that could attract and hold a desirable rural population, except soil.

Fewer worth-while people developed under tenancy. An agreeable social life on the farm which will tend to attract the best men and women is a rural problem second to no other. It affects even our urban life deeply. Urban centers must maintain their vigor by continually drawing on the rural population for their stock. The greatness of any city and the quality of its civilization will ultimately depend upon the quality of the stock that

migrates to it from country districts. A capacity for persistent and painstaking application to the task in hand represents the outstanding characteristic of country dwellers. The success of a race or a nation will depend upon the possession of these qualities, and the lack of them will bring failure. Any group consisting of individuals who still believe in the homely virtues of thrift, economy, temperance, honesty, and hard work will eventually outdistance another group of equal numbers which is wanting in these capacities. In the United States, observation shows that country districts where tenancy prevails are less attractive than where it does not. Such communities are less likely, therefore, to hold as high-grade farmers as those in which owners dominate.

Church life not so active under tenancy. It is generally agreed that man is a social being. One may say with equal emphasis that man is by nature religious. The church is the oldest and the most respected of rural agencies affecting the social life of country districts; but just as the pioneer failed to till the soil in a scientific manner, trusting rather to the bounty of nature, so has he neglected to cultivate a rural church, trusting to a natural religious impulse to keep it alive. Where surveys have been made, it has sometimes been found that owners outnumber renters in membership. However, there are sections where renters outnumber owners. This is especially the case where owners are retired farmers and renters are their sons, sons-in-law, or other relatives. The same causes which underlie the basis for ownership undoubtedly affect church relationships, because the sort of religion wanted in country districts is the religion that will make better farmers, better producers, better coöperators, better citizens, better home-makers, and better neighbors and friends.[1]

In a democratic country like the United States nothing can keep the most efficient farmers from getting possession of the best land. If these most efficient farmers are church members, nothing will prevent them from becoming the owners of the best

[1] See T. N. Carver's "The Religion Worth Having," Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911.

farms. The same will happen if the non-Christian farmers become the most efficient. No church can be more successful than the economic conditions surrounding it will allow, and its success is determined by the prosperity of the members composing it.

Schools less efficient under tenancy. Rural education is not faring as well as urban education. The districts where the usual sort of tenancy prevails are considerably behind those in which ownership is more common. The same characteristics that add to a fuller social and religious life add to higher educational ideals. This fact can be supported by the evidence that children of owners are more likely than those of tenants to complete the elementary schools. It is also true that among owners greater numbers go through high school and attend college. The primary function of education is to fit students for greater productivity. The greatest service which any school can perform is that which increases the productive capacity of each individual who comes under its influence. The school which trains children to function better as members of the family, as friends, as neighbors, as efficient producers, and as citizens of the state and the nation performs its function properly. Any well-informed educator will tell you that the one outstanding rural problem is rural education. As students of sociology we are interested in making the rural school function more fully as a social institution.

Political effects of tenancy. The rural group has never had the influence upon political issues that urban residents exercise. Neither does the common type of tenant show as much interest in political problems as the owner. The former lacks the historic background of local traditions and possesses no direct personal contact with local problems immediately affecting the community. While one cannot say much for the political interest shown by any of the people in democratic countries, it has been found that the owner excels the tenant in attending the polls at elections by a scant 10 per cent. The tenant's waning interest may be due to the fact that he reads fewer periodicals and subscribes to fewer daily and weekly papers, but most of all because he is constantly moving from place to place.

The element of strength in tenancy. American rural life has many elements of strength, but it has one outstanding weakness, namely, instability. During the primitive period this very instability may have been an element of strength. That is to say, when the great task before the American people was that of subduing a continent and bringing it under the dominion of man, it was necessary that the roving, adventurous spirit should be developed. Willingness to pull up stakes and move is characteristic of all genuine pioneers. If the American people had not possessed this spirit, the settlement of the Middle West and the Far West would have been greatly retarded. At that time the qualities that make for instability were virtues.

This is not the only case in the history of human adaptation in which a quality that is a factor of strength, and therefore a virtue, under one set of conditions, becomes a factor of weakness, and therefore a vice, under another set of conditions. The roving spirit that was once typified by the prairie schooner must now be replaced by a spirit that will cause men to take root in the soil and engage in the permanent work of community building. The type of tenant who farms on a short lease, who is here today and somewhere else tomorrow, can never be an important factor in the new task that is now laid upon the rural people of America. We have done the preliminary work of settlement. We are through with that kind of pioneering. We must acquire a new set of virtues that will fit us for the new task of building on permanent foundations an agreeable social life in farm communities.

QUESTIONS

1. How would you explain the increase in tenancy in the United States during the last few decades?

2. A negro tenant farmer decided not to pick his cotton crop. When asked for his reason, he said: "I only get a fo'th of the crop. I had a poah crop, an' I looked it ovah, an' I decided it wasn't a fo'th of a crop." What economic principle had he vaguely in mind?

3. Which class of tenants, cash or share, usually cultivate their farms more intensively?

4. Compare tenancy in England with that in the United States. Explain the differences.

5. How would you compare the social conditions of a community whose farms are generally owned by absentee owners with those of a community whose farms are generally owned by resident owners?

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CHAPTER XIV

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF FARM LABOR

Four classes of agricultural laborers. One of the most important of all questions in agricultural life is that of agricultural labor. By agricultural laborers are meant not simply hired laborers but every laborer that is engaged in the actual work of growing crops and animals. Up to the present time practically all such laborers can be included in four classes:

1. *The self-employed laborer*, that is, the laborer who works under his own initiative and receives his income in the form of his own products.

2. *The hired laborer*, who works on land and with tools belonging to someone else and receives his income, not in the form of the entire product of his labor, but as wages that have been contracted for. The wages are either fixed in amount or depend in part upon the product of the season's agriculture.

3. *The serf*, who differed from the hired laborer in that he was attached definitely to one estate and must perforce work for the landlord or the owner of that estate. Instead of wages he commonly received the use of a plot of land and was permitted to work this on certain days. He was required to work the lord's land, commonly called the demesne, the rest of the time. Incidentally, the lord of the manor was the local representative of the government. Instead of receiving a salary from the public treasury, the lord received a grant of land from the king, together with serfs to work his land for him.

4. *The slave*, who differed from the serf in that he was himself the property of the owner and could be bought and sold as any other commodity. The serf was attached to the land and could not be sold apart from it. If the land itself changed hands, or was regranted to another lord by the king, the serf went with the land as a matter of course. The slave, so far as his economic

status was concerned, did not differ very much from other forms of live stock. He received his subsistence, but was not entitled by legal right to any other form of income.

The first laborers. Many misconceptions have arisen as to which was the original form of labor. Some writers have accepted a kind of mechanical formula to the effect that the slave was the first laborer, the serf the second, and the wage laborer the third. There is no historical basis for any such assumption. The free laborer who worked for himself and lived on the produce of his own effort was undoubtedly first. The savage hunter and the primitive herdsman who kept his own cattle belonged in that class. Even within the hunting tribe there were independent workmen — arrow-makers, potters, and others — who made their living by selling or exchanging their products for the spoils of the chase.

It is not even true that the slave preceded the wageworker historically. As everyone acquainted with Southern history knows, there were many wageworkers in the South as well as slaves before the emancipation. The same will be found true in every state of society in which slaves have existed. Usually, however, the slaves did one kind of work and the wageworkers another. Slavery seems to have followed rather than preceded wage labor. That is, whenever there was difficulty in obtaining an adequate supply of labor, a conquering tribe would naturally keep some of its captives and put them to work instead of killing them. There would be no object in one person's enslaving another unless there was an opportunity to make use of his labor. Whenever the need for workers existed, there were, in early times, two possible ways of securing them: hiring them and conquering them. But there is no essential or inherent reason why conquering should precede the method of hiring; nor is there any historical evidence that conquering actually did precede hiring. In the most primitive Indian tribes there were men who performed certain kinds of work for hire. In the earliest accounts of any known society there were also men who did certain tasks for hire, even though others were performed by slaves, serfs, or other unfree men and women.

Slavery and labor scarcity. When there is an adequate supply of people who are willing to work for hire, there is no very strong motive for capturing and using slaves. When it is difficult to get enough help in the form of hired labor, there is a very real motive for slavery. This motive faced the early planters of Virginia. They had difficulty in securing and holding a supply of labor to work their plantations. To begin with, they had adopted a liberal land policy under which any colonist could himself become a landowner by settling on free land and conforming to certain regulations not very different from those of our Homestead Law of 1862. Under such conditions a person who could himself become a landowner was not likely to be willing to work for wages. A partial means of relief was found in the importation of indentured laborers. An indentured laborer was one who, in return for his passage to the New World, would agree to work for a definite number of years for the colonist who furnished the transportation. This gave the colonist the temporary services of a laborer. As soon as the newcomer had worked out his contract, however, he could himself become a landowner and was not likely to work for wages. There was therefore such an acute demand for labor, and so few persons willing to work for hire, that when in 1619 a Dutch ship came into Jamestown with a cargo of African negroes, and offered them for sale, the landowners who needed help easily yielded to the temptation to buy them.

It was the labor predicament of the Southern planters that induced them to take up with slavery. Doubtless they would have preferred hired labor. The same would be true in almost any society. Unless there is a strong demand for labor there will be no great inducement either to hire it or to conquer it. Even where there is such a demand, if plenty of workers can be hired no one will be greatly tempted to conquer others or to go to the trouble of holding them under subjection. In other words, slavery implies a combination of two factors: an opportunity to use labor advantageously and a scarcity of free labor.

As to serfdom, this also existed side by side with a great deal of free labor. The free laborers of medieval Europe, however,

usually lived in the towns rather than in the country. The serfs were the chief reliance of the great landowners for many centuries.

The modern tendency away from hired labor. Since the emancipation of the negro slaves in the United States most of the farm work in this country has been done by self-employed farmers who either owned the land on which they worked or operated as self-employed tenants on land owned by others. A relatively small fraction of the total farm work has been done by hired laborers. In most European countries the man who both owns his farm and works it himself is called a peasant proprietor. In this country he is simply a farmer. The policy of the government in selling land to actual settlers who would work their own land was designed to create only one type of farmer. The growth of tenancy in the last few decades has led some to fear that the old type of working farm-owner may be giving way to a new class of farm tenants, and that the tenant farmer may eventually become the prevailing type. It is probable, however, that a balance will be reached and that the percentage of tenants to owner-operators will fluctuate around a norm. It is improbable that there will be any great increase in the percentage of hired laborers, or that any considerable proportion of the farm work in the near future will be done by hired labor. The tendency is in the opposite direction, that is, toward a system in which fewer hired laborers will be engaged in agriculture.

Why wageworkers tend to disappear. Whether or not to deprecate the present tendency for the elimination of hired laborers is somewhat puzzling. There are several different points of view from which this problem can be considered. To begin with, there is the extreme opinion (more prevalent in the cities than in the country) that the whole wage system is necessarily vicious. The term "wage slave" is commonly applied by a certain type of pessimistic person to every hired laborer. It is the contention of such pessimists that no man who works for wages is ever really a free man. He is dependent upon somebody else for a job, and therefore in a state of dependence as truly as was

the slave, though his particular form of dependence may be more bearable in some ways.

This is not a very intelligent position; at least it is based upon defective analysis. It may be true, as some have rather bombastically asserted, that a necessitous man is not a free man, but it does not mean much until one states how necessitous a man must be in order to lose his freedom. It is doubtless true that, in extreme cases, if a man is out of a job, and at the same time his family is in dire need, he may be willing to accept almost any form of employment in order to obtain work which will provide him and his family with food. However, there are cases of just the opposite sort. There are wageworkers who not only have good jobs but have opportunities to obtain others. The latter are wageworkers as truly as the former, but they would resent hotly any allusion to themselves as wage slaves. They are independent and may be almost arrogantly independent.

When one observes that some wageworkers are exceedingly independent and others exceedingly dependent, if he thinks clearly he will be forced to conclude that it is some factor other than wages that creates the state of dependence in one case and the state of independence in another. The fact is, as close observation will show, that it is not the wage system but an oversupplied labor market that creates dependence, and an undersupplied labor market that creates independence. There is no known exception to the rule that any kind of labor that is scarce and hard to find is independent. When this condition exists, each individual laborer is in demand. He can take his choice of jobs and need not accept one that is not to his liking. Neither is there any known exception to the rule that when a kind of labor is oversupplied, each individual laborer is in a position of dependence. If he loses one position, there is no other open. Moreover, there are several men waiting for his job if he leaves it. Under such conditions he is certain to accept almost any humiliation rather than surrender his position.

The present economic policy in the United States. There is nothing in the nature of the wage system or of the capitalistic system to account for a labor market that is overcrowded, any

more than for one that is permanently undercrowded. A wise economic policy produces a generally undercrowded labor market and therefore general prosperity and independence of laborers; an unsound policy creates an overcrowded labor market and general dependence and poverty for all laborers. Any nation can have either of these conditions that it elects. In this country we have elected an economic policy that results in an undercrowded labor market, which automatically produces, except in unfortunate localities, independence and prosperity for all wageworkers. For this reason we may predict that unless we should reverse our present sound and sane economic policy, wageworkers will decrease rather than increase in American agriculture. The few wageworkers that remain will be well paid and independent, at least as compared with former times in this country and as compared with existing conditions in other countries that have pursued less sound economic policies.

Before 1840 and even down to 1870 most of the hired laborers in American agriculture were native-born. Frequently they were sons of neighboring farmers. The farmer with several grown sons and a limited acreage could easily spare some of his sons. They could then hire out to other farmers who did not have enough help in their own families to cultivate their acreage. From 1870 up to the period of the World War a large proportion of the hired labor was foreign-born. Between 1870 and 1890 laborers came largely from Germany, England, Ireland, and the Scandinavian countries. From 1890 to the end of the period they were recruited largely from Russia, Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, and Italy.

No permanent class of agricultural labor in the United States. As yet we have not developed in this country anything that could be called a permanent class of agricultural labor. In a previous chapter, in discussing the agricultural ladder, it was pointed out that the common method by which the landless man became a landowning farmer was by beginning as a farm laborer, working for wages, and then proceeding through various stages up to farm ownership. As a matter of fact, most wage labor on American farms has been supplied by this tempo-

rary class. It is literally true that almost every farm hand has expected eventually to become a farm-owner. This explains, among other things, why farm hands have never regarded themselves as an agricultural proletariat and have never developed class consciousness. The man who expects some day to be a landowning farmer is not likely to develop hostility toward the institution of farm ownership or to attack farm-owners as a class.

Another reason why we do not have an agricultural proletariat is that most of the hired laborers on American farms are young, unmarried men. The young man who expects to be a farmer usually postpones marriage until he is at least a tenant farmer and needs a wife in his business. To a farm hand working for wages a wife is more likely to be a liability than an asset. As soon as he begins to farm for himself a wife becomes an asset rather than a liability. She is a partner in a business enterprise.

Some notable and, on the whole, regrettable exceptions are found in the considerable numbers of casual laborers found in the neighborhood of market gardens near large cities and in the great fruit-growing and truck-farming regions of the West and South. Here many of the farm laborers are married; but instead of being partners in a business enterprise, both the man and his wife, and also the children who are old enough, work for wages, sometimes even competing with one another. Whole families move from place to place according to the labor market. This tends to create a more or less unstable class in American society and is not likely to be a helpful factor in building a wholesome national life.

There is also a small class known as seasoned hired men. These are usually experienced farm hands who started out with the intention of earning money enough to become independent farmers. For some reason they failed in this ambition, perhaps through lack of business ability. They are experienced in all kinds of farm work and generally can do anything the farmer himself can do and approximately as well. A farmer who is able to procure one of these seasoned men is fortunate. If he appreciates his good fortune, he will show his appreciation in the form of good wages and high esteem.

The "back-to-the-land" farm hand is not usually of much use to himself or anyone else. He has failed in town and thinks he will try the country. In most cases he is an even more conspicuous failure in the country, since farm work is physically harder than town work.

The farm apprentice is usually a city boy. For some independent reason, and not because he has been tried out and has failed in town, he has decided that he would like to farm. He is sometimes sent to the country by an employment agency or possibly by some philanthropic agency that imagines it would be a kindness to city boys to get them into the country.

The hobo, who is not strictly a tramp, is sometimes a really good worker who possesses the wanderlust and is never satisfied to remain long in one place. He frequently makes an excellent farm hand during the harvest period or the fruit-picking season, but when the whim seizes him he must move on.

The present supply of farm labor in the United States. The table below shows the results of an inquiry by the United States Department of Agriculture into the farm-labor supply and demand for the years 1920 to 1923 inclusive. According to this table 1920 was the only year in which there was a wide discrepancy between the supply and the demand. In the Far Western division, however, the supply considerably exceeded the demand during the next two years.

FARM-LABOR SUPPLY AND DEMAND, 1920–1923[1]

Division	Percentage of Normal Farm-Labor Supply				Percentage of Normal Farm-Labor Demand			
	1920	1921	1922	1923	1920	1921	1922	1923
North Atlantic . . .	62.3	92.1	99.2	73.3	107.8	92.7	94.8	95.2
South Atlantic . . .	72.5	94.3	97.3	83.0	107.4	86.6	88.4	94.2
North Central east of Mississippi River .	68.4	95.1	101.4	76.5	106.6	91.2	91.0	95.4
North Central west of Mississippi River .	77.8	96.6	101.1	89.1	103.4	89.1	89.3	95.5
South Central . . .	72.8	94.3	97.1	86.7	104.2	83.0	86.6	93.9
Far Western	82.1	102.3	107.0	91.0	101.5	89.0	89.9	94.0
United States . . .	72.4	95.2	99.5	83.6	105.3	87.5	89.3	94.6

[1] United States Department of Agriculture Yearbook (1922), p. 997.

Problems created by the scarcity of labor. The increasing scarcity of farm labor, while an excellent thing for those who remain farm laborers, undoubtedly creates perplexities for the farmer who needs help. In some cases the perplexity is due to facts of his own creation. The farmer who engages in diversified farming, and plans his system in such a way as to require a fairly even flow of labor throughout the year, need not have a serious labor problem. If he finds, however, that some single crop, such as strawberries, which requires a great deal of extra labor for a few weeks, is more profitable than general farming, he will naturally desire to grow that crop. But he cannot do this unless he can depend on casual labor during the rush season to help him carry the peak of the load. If he cannot secure a supply of casual labor, he cannot specialize. The solution, of course, is obvious. He must give up the one-crop system and get back to diversified farming, under which he can keep busy the year round.

Even in general farming, however, the shortage of hired help is a problem, and the solution is not so simple. Some relief can be secured by the use of more and better machines and labor-saving devices. Another remedy is to shift as much work as possible to the winter months, in order to relieve the pressure during the growing-season. Probably not much can be done in this direction, but it is the opinion of some experts that at least a little relief may come from this source.

Another possibility is that of exchanging work with neighbors. To be sure, this is always done to some extent, but with the scarcity of hired help it can be planned for a little more definitely. The final resource for some will be to turn from more intensive to less intensive forms of cultivation. This may seem like retrogression, but, as pointed out in Chapter XII, intensive cultivation goes with increasing quantities of labor. When the supply of labor decreases, the individual farm manager must usually turn to less intensive forms of culture. Some farmers in the corn belt have already found themselves compelled to put part of their land into grass, solely because of the difficulty of getting help enough for corn-growing.

An important economic principle, and one not so generally understood as it ought to be, is that each productive unit should be placed at the disposal of that person who can use it most successfully. As pointed out in a previous chapter, if irrigation water is used by a poor farmer, it will produce less than if used by a good farmer. It is a partial waste of irrigation water to use it on poor farms when better farms need it, or to let it irrigate poor land while better land goes unirrigated. The same principle will apply to labor. If there is a man who does not know how to direct labor very productively, it is a waste of that labor to have it under his direction, especially if there is another man who could use the same labor more productively. The growing scarcity of farm labor tends to increase the competition among farmers. They bid against each other for the limited supply. In the course of time the unproductive farmers, or those who are poor directors of other people's labor, will be left without hired help, because only the more productive farmers can afford to pay the wages demanded.

WAGES OF MALE FARM LABORERS BY CLASSES AND DIVISIONS, 1913 AND 1922

Division	Per Month				Per Day at Harvest				Per Day Other than Harvest			
	With Board		No Board		With Board		No Board		With Board		No Board	
	1913	1922	1913	1922	1913	1922	1913	1922	1913	1922	1913	1922
North Atlantic	$23.45	$37.14	$35.29	$55.82	$1.67	$2.70	$2.12	$3.40	$1.30	$2.24	$1.71	$3.91
South Atlantic	15.88	22.12	22.62	31.72	1.16	1.61	1.45	2.01	.85	1.18	1.09	1.55
North Central east of Mississippi River	24.66	33.35	34.10	46.71	1.87	2.67	2.29	3.27	1.37	2.00	1.75	2.58
North Central west of Mississippi River	25.56	33.63	35.23	47.14	2.00	2.88	2.42	3.51	1.42	2.01	1.83	2.63
South Central	16.70	22.33	23.35	32.09	1.21	1.61	1.51	1.98	.93	1.20	1.18	1.56
Far Western	33.52	45.57	48.17	66.03	2.02	2.89	2.53	3.56	1.52	2.23	2.07	3.00
United States	21.38	29.17	30.31	41.79	1.57	2.20	1.94	2.72	1.16	1.65	1.50	2.15

Wages of farm labor have tended to increase for several decades. In Wisconsin farm wages doubled during the thirty years from 1880 to 1910.[1] At the same time the total amount of farm labor increased from 20.5 to 22.6 laborers on each 1000

[1] See "Farm Labor in Wisconsin," *Bulletin 316*, published by the Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Wisconsin, 1920.

acres of improved land. The table on the preceding page, from the Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture for 1922 (p. 996), shows the tendency of farm wages in different sections of the country from 1913 to 1922 inclusive.

Of course, a part of the increase in the money wages of farm labor is due to the cheapening of money, or the decline in the purchasing power of the dollar. But after making allowance for this, there has been a substantial increase in real wages.

The social consequences of a rise in wages are considerable. It tends to close the gap which might otherwise separate farm-owners from farm workers. In a country where there is a superfluity of farm laborers their wages are low and they tend to form a class by themselves. Except where class consciousness grows out of a difference of race or nationality, we are fortunate in having no class distinctions in rural America.

QUESTIONS

1. What are the four principal classes of agricultural labor, and under what special conditions does slave labor tend to predominate?

2. What connection was there between the liberal land policy of the Southern states and the demand for slaves?

3. What are the factors that tend to make farm labor scarce?

4. What is the relation between a high wage scale and the extensive use of farm machinery?

5. Are we likely ever to have in this country a class-conscious antagonism between farm laborers and their employers? If so, what would bring it about?

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CHAPTER XV

GOVERNMENT AND RURAL LIFE

Why government is necessary. The statement that man is a political animal is probably the most frequently quoted passage in political literature. It is sometimes used as a reason for the existence of government. That would be a sufficient reason if government, like play, were a mere expression of man's nature. One purpose of government, however, is social control, or the compelling of certain individuals to behave in ways that are deemed socially desirable, or at least to leave undone certain things that are deemed socially undesirable. It might be contended that if these individuals were sufficiently socialized, they would need no compulsion but would willingly do whatever was socially desirable and leave undone whatever was socially undesirable. It is because men are not thoroughly socialized, therefore, that government is a necessity.

What is deemed socially desirable in any time and place may be either rational or irrational according to the wisdom or the unwisdom of the people. It is quite possible for large numbers of people to be mistaken as to what is good for the tribe, the nation, or the human race. They may therefore declare a thing to be a crime which is really good (or which would be good for the group if everyone would practice it), and another thing to be virtuous which is really or rationally a crime (or which would weaken or destroy the group if generally practiced). So frequently have communities and nations been wrong in what they deemed to be socially desirable and undesirable, and so frequently have they punished as criminals persons whom later generations have regarded as saints, that some writers have been led to the rather hasty conclusion, quoted on a previous page, that "the criminal of today is the saint of tomorrow," which, however, is not a statement of statistical fact.

Each individual may be assumed to want a good many things, either for himself or for those for whom he cares. If he cannot make or find these things, he must get them from someone else. If he gets them from someone else, he must get them either with that person's consent or without it. In every tribe or nation that has ever amounted to anything it has been deemed better that the individual should get what he wants from other members of the same tribe or nation with their consent than without it. Accordingly, taking things from one's fellows by violence or fraud has been deemed wrong and has been punished. That this is rational from the standpoint of the highest interest of the tribe is apparent to anyone who will try to imagine what would happen if every individual tried to get what he wanted by robbing some other member, as compared with every individual's trying to get what he wanted by producing it or something else to give in exchange for it.

This is sometimes called protecting the weak against the strong. It is not so much that as it is protecting the peaceful against the violent, the honest against the dishonest, the productive against the destructive. It may be summarized by calling it protecting production against predation.

The government that succeeds in accomplishing this will give the maximum encouragement to productive or useful endeavor. Where everyone is encouraged to be as useful as possible, realizing that the more useful he becomes the more he himself will prosper, there will be the maximum of production and prosperity for all.

There are, of course, many nonproducers, that is, young children, aged persons, invalids, and others who for one reason or another can scarcely be called even useful. In so far as these are weak, and therefore in need of protection against the strong, it may correctly be said that one duty of government is to protect the weak against the strong. In a general way we may cover the whole ground by saying that government must protect whoever needs protection against all violence, fraud, or other dangers.

Equal protection by government. Since government exists for the protection of usefulness, the question arises whether all

useful citizens are equally protected. Equality before the law means little more than the equal protection of the law, on the one hand, and the equal obligation to obey the law, on the other. This exists, in theory at least, for everyone, male and female, old and young, rich and poor, native and foreign-born, white and black, naturalized and unnaturalized, even though all do not share alike in the election of officers or the making of laws. Where the equal protection of the laws and equal amenability to laws do not exist in practice, there is a perversion of the very principles on which our government is based.

Just what the government shall undertake to do is, first, a matter of legislative enactment, and, secondly, a matter of administration. In a popular government there are always wide differences of opinion as to just what should be enacted and administered. There might be thousands or even millions of distinct opinions, but it would be impossible for the average voter to consider many of these at a time. Accordingly there is a tendency toward the formation of political parties. Without them popular government would be such a chaos as not to last long.

Dominance of national issues. Political lines are drawn with exactness between the two leading parties in the United States to the extent that state parties have been engulfed and either have no reason for existence or at least do not seem to maintain a separate existence. The national issues have thrown matters of state policy entirely into the shade. This practice is as old as our government. Accordingly the national parties have complete possession of the field. Usually all state elections are fought on their lines, and state legislatures are divided into opposing camps. Yet nearly all the questions which come before the state legislature have nothing whatever to do with the tenets of the national parties, and votes of state legislatures can neither advance nor retard the progress of any cause which lies within the competence of Congress. Nevertheless a political party is something more than a group of voters who happen to agree on a certain point. It is a group of persons whose historic background and general attitude incline them to think alike on

many questions. There is therefore likely to be some unity of opinion within a given party even on state issues.

This practice has led to the abandonment of state issues in some cases. Questions belonging to the state are frequently obscured by party attitudes on national issues. Party politics, therefore, do not wholly fulfill their legitimate ends in state affairs. Only partial coöperation exists among national and state leaders. No measures, no line of policy, and no criticism by either side of the policies advocated by the other are seriously considered; but an artificial aggregation of people is linked together for purposes unconnected with the work they have to do. If this practice worked as its appearances indicate, an advantage of considering questions apart from partisan views would follow; but this is not the practice. The strength of the national parties prevents this. Every member is elected as a party man, and the experiment of legislatures working without parties has as little chance of being tried in the several states as in Congress itself. The only advantage growing out of the party system in the states is that some enterprising genius has an opportunity to become so useful in the state legislature as to attract attention which may bring him into the larger field of national politics.

Local issues and party politics. Blind adherence to party principles is, however, of doubtful value. American legislatures might gain efficiency if party considerations were made a secondary idea in the voter's mind; but such a suggestion is laughed out of court by the practical politician, who points to England, where municipal and other local elections are fought out successfully on party lines. This is comparable to our own municipal government, in which the common council still exists, and where we still have the mayor without power. We have been steadily getting away from this practice, and are moving rather rapidly toward commission government and the city-manager plan. There are those who believe that the future of township and county government will resemble, at least in part, the city-manager plan of today. It is to be observed, however, that the commission form of government has existed in our counties for a long time.

Evidence of national control does not enter into local and personal bills, which occupy the greater part of the time and labor of state legislatures. The only advantage that a party obtains in handling such bills is that its leader establishes local prestige for his political organization by fathering such measures. However, it often happens that party lines are brushed aside and representatives of opposite parties join in putting through measures which would benefit their constituents. Of course, the less reputable a member is, the more likely will he be to enter into "rings" which have nothing to do with politics in its proper sense, and the more ready to scheme with any trickster, to whichever party he adheres. It is probably safe to say that most representatives from rural districts are not much tempted to do that sort of thing.

There are other lines of legislative action that do not require strict party cohesion. A bill for improving a state reform school or lunatic asylum, or forbidding lotteries, would have nothing either to hope or to fear from party action. Its passage would depend largely upon the ability of the member presenting it to convince the more intelligent of his colleagues that the people wanted it, and on the number of other bills on the calendar competing for a place. Other bills, however, dealing with the sale of intoxicants, or regulating the hours of labor, or attacking railroad companies, or prohibiting the sale of oleomargarine as butter, are matters of such keen interest to some one section of the population that a party will gain support from many citizens by espousing them, and may possibly estrange others. No party ever put a plank in its platform promoting any of these matters, but it is worth while for a party to win votes by throwing its influence for or against these measures, according as there is more to gain by taking the one course or the other.

Is there a state party? The question often arises as to whether there is a state party or not, and can be answered only in this way. Today it may be said that there are state issues on the Chinese and Japanese question in several of the Western states. Both the Republicans and the Democrats are falling in with the

opposition to the Asiatics, and the Supreme Court has decided that a state may lawfully declare that the Japanese cannot become property owners within its borders. The building of canals was at one time a real issue in many of the states, and at one time there was a strong state party in Virginia which aimed to repudiate the state debt. In some of the Northwestern states the Populists and the Alliance party, and even the Grangers, became strong at one period. Before the Eighteenth Amendment was passed the Prohibition party was strong in many of the states when prohibition was a state issue. Thus it will be seen that the dignity and the intensity of state politics have declined as compared with the strong state sentiments which prevailed in our history until after the Civil War. Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts in 1786, and Dorr's Rebellion in Rhode Island in 1842, are two extreme cases which show that party feelings can at times run very high over state issues. There have also been many spirited contests, and some bitter fights, over county issues.

It must not be taken for granted, however, that the people are no longer interested in the welfare of the state. The greatness of the American state today is equal to that of any other era, and the loyalty and attachment of its inhabitants are no less evidenced than formerly. But it can be said with equal emphasis that the average American voter troubles himself little about the conduct of state business. The reason may be that most of the great questions involving principle have been settled, and that only questions of detail come up at election time. For this or some other reason the farmer generally votes the party ticket at elections. Such questions as railway rates, hours of labor, and taxation still stir him, at least mildly, and cause him to watch what the legislature does. Of late, in some of the Northwestern states, even gubernatorial and senatorial elections have been exciting. But in ordinary times farmers follow the proceedings of the state legislature with little interest.

The judgment of the common people in the long run can be relied on when the issues are critical. Public-spirited men often throw themselves into the muddy whirlpool of state politics to

clean up the accumulated rottenness by securing the passage of laws that will be beneficial to the state. This is sometimes called government by spasm. The difficulty of succeeding in such cases is not understood even by the average American. European observers who wonder why laws passed by state and municipality are not so good as those enacted by Congress are unaware of the difficulties that party systems and party organizations throw in the way of efforts at reform in state and local government.

Local government. The study of local government in the United States gives one the impression of divided allegiance. The affairs of the people repose in county, township, city, and village government, and in the school district. The farmer has more to say about the county, the township, and the school district than about any other of the political activities in which he may be interested. These belong to him, and here he is master of all he surveys, politically speaking. He bears the defects of the higher organs of government with complacency and points to the efficiency of rural administration.

Of the four local political units of government the township is admittedly the best. It is the least expensive and the most efficient; it is the most educational to the citizens who are a part of it. The school of democracy is best illustrated in the town meeting, which gave us the idea of local self-government. It was from the small New England towns and open country that the "embattled farmers" came who "fired the shot heard round the world." The farmers in the South developed county rather than township government, and those of the Middle states have perfected a system in which the mixture of the township and the county government has been made to work fairly well. It is the general experience that most of the local units are unwilling to surrender the management of local affairs to the state government, but insist on keeping control of immediate local interests. However, in such matters as schools and roads there has been a tendency toward concentrated control under state governments.

Where control has not been surrendered to the state govern-

ments the farmers and the small-town units make and execute their own laws, levy their own taxes, administer justice, build their own roads and bridges, dispense charities and relief, sue and are sued, and are generally permitted to control the police power through the town constable, who exercises all powers not prohibited by state laws. Property is as safe in rural sections as anywhere in the world.

The county was created chiefly for the administration of justice, but the county commissioners do some legislating on matters of local interest. The sheriff is the chief executive, and the judges and county attorney or local prosecuting officer see that justice is administered. But these have more to do in the enforcement of state than of county laws. In fact, the county is largely a judicial and administrative subdivision of the state government. The county further serves as a medium between the state and the lower organizations, and it carries on work beyond the power of the township individually. To transact county business the register of deeds, the coroner, the judge of probate, the superintendent of schools, and the county surveyor are all elected by the people. Further, the county serves as a territorial basis for the apportionment of members of the legislature. This is, perhaps, merely an incidental gain, but its convenience in defining legislative districts is obvious.

Importance of local units. The average rural person, going about his daily tasks, seldom realizes that practically all his real contacts with government are those with the local units rather than with the Federal government. We hear much about the farmer's not having any say in his government, but such statements distort the truth. They show a lack of appreciation of the fact that, after all, the fundamental control is still in the farmer's hands. The importance of the local units of government may have declined somewhat in comparison with the state and the central government; nevertheless the American farmer is self-governing in that he has control of the government that affects him most closely from day to day. Besides, he has about as much control over state and nation as any other unorganized class.

The problem of taxation. As long as the people have control of the purse strings, they are safe, is an old Anglo-Saxon saying. How completely the American voters control the purse strings can be seen very easily. Take, for example, the total taxes levied in the state of Minnesota, including those on moneys and credits and special assessments, for 1920 and 1923, collectible the year following from the various units of government.

TOTAL TAX COLLECTIONS, 1920 AND 1923[1]

Units of Government	1920	1923
State	$11,560,924.03	$16,081,552.72
Counties	24,915,738.42	24,910,051.62
Cities and villages	33,143,414.53	35,638,991.22
Townships	9,965,689.95	9,745,041.36
School districts	37,143,694.05	41,394,984.89
Total	$116,729,460.98	$127,770,621.81

There is a very common and widespread misapprehension of the proportion of tax money which goes to support the state. Many taxpayers in the local units feel, when they pay their taxes, that they are paying their money either entirely to the state or possibly to the state and county. The city, the village, the township, and the school district absorb the largest proportion, but this never occurs to the average person. In 1921 the division of $100 of tax money, in Minnesota, was as follows: (1) the state, $9.82; (2) the county, $21.40; (3) the township, $8.45; (4) the city and village, $28.53; (5) the school district, $31.80.

Each student should obtain from his state auditor the items of tax distribution through each political unit as illustrated in the previous paragraph. A comparison should be made of the increase in taxes for past years, and evidence relating to the growth of these expenditures should be studied with considerable care. People should know where the taxes go in order to appreciate how complex our civilization is becoming. The people demand and are securing more and more public improve-

[1] See R. P. Chase (State Auditor of Minnesota), "The Path of Your Tax Dollar," p. 36.

ments. The representatives of the people levy the taxes in every case and are consequently responsible for these tremendous increases.

Using a rural state again as an example of the increase of state expenditures which can be duplicated in practically every other state, we note that increases and expenditures are far exceeding the increase in population. The population in Minnesota increased 14.96 per cent between 1910 and 1920; the assessed valuation increased 51.28 per cent; and the total tax increase was 199.81 per cent. The largest item of expenditures was for education, which in 1912 was $13,120,923 and in 1921 had increased to $42,569,237, a gain of 224.43 per cent. The largest rate of increase during the decade just past was for roads and bridges. In 1912 the expenditure by the state and local units totaled $3,636,786, and in 1921 the figure had jumped to $21,040,655, an increase of 479.03 per cent during a period in which the population had increased less than 15 per cent and the valuation less than 52 per cent.

The tax burdens are heaviest which are closest to the taxpayer, and become less burdensome as the governing units are farther removed. "Taxation without representation" still rings in our ears, but each geographical political unit is directly responsible for local taxes and cannot shift the responsibility to the units higher up, except in so far as abuses creep in and extravagance can be proved. In one respect the farmer is at a disadvantage when compared with other classes of people. All his wealth is taxable, and there are few opportunities for tax exemption and practically no opportunities for evasion.

Farmer representation in government. It must seem clear to the student of public affairs that the rural group has more to say about government questions than is generally known. The school district, the township, the county, and the state each undoubtedly has its share of local representatives, but that cannot be said when the national government is considered. Even when the number of farmers in the state legislature equals the number of other groups, it does not follow that they exercise a proportionate influence in direct legislation.

The average farmer in this country is a small farmer and is less familiar with large affairs than are lawyers, bankers, and business men. Consequently the latter are likely to hold the more important positions on influential committees.

Before 1861 many Southern planters were men of large affairs, and they exerted a powerful influence on government. Now and then, even today, a farmer comes into his own in such bodies and makes his services to the state and the nation invaluable. The American farmer clings with vigor and tenacity to his inborn inclinations, and governs his local units with an interest and efficiency that has won the praise of James Bryce, the greatest European student of American government. This participation in government is, however, practically limited to local units. The growth of centralization, the protective tariff, Federal control of transportation, forms of taxation, and legislation pertaining to coöperative agencies, finance, and rural credit may seriously affect his income and his status as an independent citizen; yet his voice is seldom heard in his own defense in the Congress of the United States. We have seen how vitally some of these matters affect his life and his future, and yet he is represented by men who do not always understand his point of view.

The undue proportion of lawyers in our national legislature where there are fewer than twenty farmers, as well as in many state lawmaking bodies, is probably due to our long habit of hiring lawyers as our spokesmen or advocates before courts, commissions, or administrative officers. It is not a far cry from this to hiring them as our spokesmen before legislative bodies, either as lobbyists or as members. This, in turn, is the result of our failure to regard government as the people in deliberation, but to think of it rather as something apart from ourselves which must be persuaded to act on our behalf. This habit of mind probably became fixed when we were colonists, and the government really was something placed over us, to which we had to go as suppliants or petitioners. So long as spokesmen are needed by farmers and laborers they will probably do well to hire or elect trained advocates to represent them in legislative halls.

QUESTIONS

1. When we consider that the Fugitive Slave Law, passed mainly by the votes of Southern senators and congressmen, overrode certain state laws and that certain Northern states attempted to nullify this law, does it not look as though the South in this instance stood for national sovereignty and some of the Northern states for state sovereignty?

2. In general has the question of national sovereignty versus state sovereignty ever been the primary issue? For instance, there was a time when the forces opposed to prohibition used Federal authority to prevent prohibition from becoming effective within the individual state, invoking the interstate-commerce clause of the national Constitution to prevent a state from prohibiting the importation of liquor from the outside. Since the passage of the Volstead Act, the same forces are now appealing to the principle of state rights against national prohibition.

3. Immediately after the War of Independence most of the states gave up their claims to Western lands. These Western lands, therefore, became national domain and out of them were carved the territories which later became states. These new states were then in effect the creatures of the Federal government, whereas the original thirteen states could claim to have been the creators of the Federal government. What influence do you think the admission of a large number of new states in the West had on the ultimate decision of the question of Federal versus state sovereignty?

4. Are the farmers of these states even today more interested in state issues or national issues in so far as they enter into politics?

5. What forms of local government are dominant in the southern group of states; what in the northern group? How did they originate and how do they compare in efficiency?

6. How in general does the farmer fare in the distribution of tax burdens?

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CHAPTER XVI

THE FARMER IN POLITICS

Farmer citizens in our early history. In the early decades of our national life the great majority of our people were farmers. Some of the most prosperous citizens and several of our early presidents also were farmers. Under such conditions it would be natural that the farmer vote should bulk large if the farmers ever voted together — a thing which they seldom do. However, there was a minor element of agricultural class consciousness in the differences that grew up between East and West about the time of Andrew Jackson. On the Atlantic seaboard urban business interests tended to dominate and to determine the policies of the older states. In the new states that were being carved out of the great interior valley, agricultural interests tended to dominate. The difference was not wholly one between urban and rural interests, for other factors were involved; but this difference was definitely felt in the many political alignments of that period.

There was a tendency for the South and the West to vote together and not to divide on the basis of Mason and Dixon's line. Moreover, under the old régime in the South there were men whose interests were primarily agricultural and whose education, wealth, and leisure were such as to fit them for leadership. In fact, many of the leading statesmen of the first half of the nineteenth century were Southern planters. Until the issue of slavery began to divide the North from the South, agricultural interests occasionally voted together.

After the Civil War the farmers of the North and South were hopelessly divided for a time. The farmers of the North pretty regularly voted the Republican ticket; the farmers of the South, the Democratic. Even to this day that tendency interferes with the development of an agrarian party in the

United States. The nearest approach to it, up to the present, is the so-called farm bloc, — a group of representatives and senators in the national Congress who, while maintaining their allegiance to the two main parties, still manage to vote together on certain issues that are vital to the agricultural interests.

Since the Civil War there have been various attempts to organize the farmers of this country for a more positive influence on government. Every attempt to organize farmers, for any purpose whatsoever, probably has some indirect political influence. Candidates for office are, of course, keen to scent possibilities of vote-getting. Even a purely educational or social organization, if it be large, will receive a good deal of attention from vote-getters. Some farmers' organizations, however, have specifically attempted to take an active part in politics.

The Grange in politics. The first farmers' political activity on a large scale was the Grange. As first planned, its work was to be wholly educational and social. But the times were too exciting, and the farmers' grievances too irritating, to permit any farmers' organization long to remain out of politics. Accordingly, during the seventies of the last century, the Grange was an active political force.

Organized in Washington in 1867 among some government employees, under the name of "The National Grange of Patrons of Husbandry," it led a precarious existence until 1872,[1] in spite of the heroic efforts of its founder, O. H. Kelley. In May, 1868, a local grange was organized at Newton, Iowa, and in September the North Star Grange was organized in Minnesota. The growth of the movement was slow and scattering until 1872, when the rising tide of discontent among the farmers, especially of the upper Mississippi Valley, drove them to seek refuge in organization. The Grange was the only going organization to which they could turn, and they flocked to it in large numbers. Thousands of local granges were organized in all the agricultural states. Early in 1873 the National Grange was incorporated under the name of "The Society of Patrons of Husbandry." By the end of that year there were granges in all but four states. The

[1] Cf. Solon J. Buck's "Agrarian Crusade." Yale University Press, 1921.

seventh annual session of the National Grange met in St. Louis in February, 1874, and the members adopted a declaration of purposes. This shows a high idealism and a somewhat conservative program. They declared themselves to be the enemies, not of capital but of monopoly, not of railroads but of high freight rates. In politics the Grange took no partisan stand, but it soon began to be noticed that certain officials obnoxious to farmers failed of reëlection. Other farmers' organizations with a more definite political program were formed, but these were generally short-lived, though they influenced some elections.

The railroads a political issue. Gradually the hostility of the farmers' organizations centered upon the railroads. The pros and cons of that question seem to be fairly well balanced. To begin with, the railroads were not prosperous. Many of the Western roads were being built in advance of a real demand; the investors were thinking of future rather than of present traffic. Land grants by the Federal government and cash subsidies by local governments had been resorted to. Farmers had been anxious to have the railroads built in order to furnish an outlet for their produce; but when they were built, so much produce was shipped East as to glut the market, and the farmers found themselves not much better off than before.

This tended to divide the farmers of the East from those of the West. Eastern farmers found their prices depressed by the Western produce, and looked upon the Western farmers as their rivals. Consequently the Eastern farmers did not join enthusiastically in the war against the railroads.

However, the Western farmers were in real distress. They had looked forward to the railroads as their hope of salvation, and were disappointed to find that prices fell to such low levels as to leave them in distress. Moreover, freight rates were high, in spite of the fact that many of the roads were not paying. Farmers naturally argued that the vast subsidies in land and money should have enabled the roads to offer lower rates.

The elections of 1873 gave the farmers so much power in several state legislatures, especially in Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, that some drastic railroad legislation was en-

acted. These so-called Granger Laws began as early as 1871, but most of them were passed after 1873. In general they, and subsequent decisions of the state and Federal courts, established the right of the states to regulate railroad rates within the state, and of the Federal government to regulate rates in interstate commerce. The present railroad policy of our various governments, including the activities of the Interstate Commerce Commission, really dates from that era.

The decline of the Grange. After 1874 the Grange began to decline in numbers and influence. In 1874 there were said to be more than 20,000 granges, and in 1880 only about 4000. Various causes for this decline have been stated. A good many business enterprises were launched with inadequate experience and capital. Most of them failed. Even the coöperative stores were badly managed. The farmers were less well equipped, with either experience or capital, for manufacturing than for merchandising, yet they ventured boldly on a number of manufacturing enterprises. The Iowa grange undertook to manufacture harvesters. Even the National Grange bought a number of patents and planned factories to supply all sorts of farm implements to farmers. Most of these enterprises failed and bankrupted the granges that were responsible. Then members began to desert. After 1880 the Grange went back to its original program and principles and has enjoyed a wholesome and steady growth from that day to this. It is unfortunate for the participation of farmers in politics that in many of their early attempts they were badly led.

The Greenback movement. While the Greenback movement was not organized as a farmers' movement, yet it found its chief strength and support among farmers. During and for some years after the Civil War the chief circulating medium was paper money (popularly called greenbacks), and these were depreciated in terms of gold. That meant high prices in terms of paper money. It is obvious that if all prices go up or down in the same ratio, farmers who are out of debt are as well off under low prices as under high prices. But many farmers had gone into debt for farms and supplies when prices were high.

Soon after the close of the war the financial advisers of the government began to look forward to a time when gold and paper money would be on a parity; that is, when a paper dollar would buy as much as a gold dollar. It is generally agreed among careful students that the most practical way of bringing this about is for the government to resume specie payments. That means that the government shall accumulate a stock of gold and then begin exchanging gold coins for paper bills, dollar for dollar. Obviously no one will then let his paper dollar go for less than a gold dollar will purchase when the government will exchange his paper dollars for an equal number of gold dollars.

In 1875 an act was passed announcing that on January 1, 1879, the government would resume specie payments, and authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to prepare for it. From the moment of the passage of this act, paper money began to rise in purchasing power until the day (January 1, 1879) on which specie payments were resumed. From that day to this our paper money has always been as good as gold for the ordinary user.

This gradual rise in the purchasing power of the dollar meant, of course, an equal fall in the prices of all products in terms of dollars. Every farmer who was in debt began to feel the pinch, and many farmers who were not in debt were deceived by the general fall of prices. There was a great deal of opposition, therefore, to the resumption of specie payments, and an active demand for the issuance of more greenbacks. The desire to keep prices up, to make them go higher rather than lower, is not confined to farmers, but at that particular time the farmers were the chief supporters of that policy.

Scarcely had the Grange movement subsided when the Greenback movement began to assume alarming proportions. It had started among laboring men in the East before 1872, but it soon spread to the farmers of the West. In 1876 the Greenback party, under the name of the Independent party, had a ticket in the field, with Peter Cooper as its candidate for the presidency, though he took no active part in the campaign. By 1880 the

party became known as the National party, or more commonly as the Greenback party. This was probably the high-water mark of Greenbackism, though already the Resumption Act had been in force for a year and had become a dead issue. James B. Weaver of Iowa was its candidate for the presidency and received over three hundred thousand votes, or about 3 per cent of the total. From this time Greenbackism gradually declined.

It never rains but it pours. While the government was trying to get back on a gold basis through the resumption of specie payments, thus tending to lower prices, and this, in turn, tending to pinch the debtor class, it was discovered that silver had been demonetized by act of Congress in 1873. The country had been nominally on a bimetallic basis; that is, it had coined both gold and silver freely and gratuitously, and made them both equally legal tender in payment of debts. As a matter of fact, practically no silver had been coined for a good many years, although anyone was at liberty to take silver bullion of the correct fineness to the mints and have it coined into dollars without cost to himself. The reason was that silver was worth more as bullion than as coin. The silver dollar had to weigh sixteen times as much as a gold dollar, but would only purchase as much. It happened at that time that sixteen ounces of silver were worth more than one ounce of gold. Naturally no one wanted to have his silver made into coins.

Soon after 1873 some rich silver mines began to be worked, which so increased the world's supply of silver as to make it a little cheaper. Then it would have been profitable to take silver bullion to the mint and have it made into dollars, but it was found that the mint was no longer authorized to coin it. Of course, the first to notice this were the silver-mine owners, but it did not take long for those who wanted cheaper money to find it out. Then came years of agitation, but until the Greenback movement subsided it did not assume formidable proportions.

Let it be remembered that a series of cataclysmic changes had taken place in American agriculture (see Chapter I). The vast increase in farm acreage and farm production in our great West

had upset the economic balance of the civilized world. Agriculture was depressed everywhere in Europe and on the Atlantic seaboard, as well as in our West. Farmers were fully aware that something was wrong; they saw that prices were low, and it looked to many of them as though the government were in a conspiracy to lower them still further, first, by the resumption of specie payments, and, secondly, by the demonetization of silver. The greenback issue having been settled against them, as they thought, they were ready to concentrate on the silver question.

The Farmers' Alliance. Meanwhile two other movements had prepared the way. Even in the height of the power of the Grange many independent farmers' clubs were organized in various parts of the West. One of these clubs, organized in 1874 or 1875 in Texas, was originally for protection against horse thieves and land sharks, and for rounding up cattle. It adopted a secret ritual and established affiliated lodges in neighboring counties, and a state alliance in 1878. It had therefore some features in common with the Grange.

Coöperation in the rounding up of strays led to other forms of coöperation. Trade agreements were made, mutual cotton storage was arranged, and a state exchange was effected. In 1886 this alliance came near wrecking itself by a venture into state politics, then pulled itself together and devoted itself to educational and other constructive programs. In 1887 the Texas Alliance fused with the Farmers' Union of Louisiana under the name of the National Farmers' Alliance and Coöperative Union of America. This Louisiana union had had a similar origin to that of the Texas Alliance, and was modeled somewhat after the Grange.

Meanwhile the two Arkansas organizations, the Agricultural Wheel and the Brothers of Freedom, joined their forces and began to spread to the neighboring states of Kentucky and Tennessee. In 1888 this combined organization joined forces with the alliance. All these combinations resulted in an organization whose magnitude began to attract nation-wide interest.

Still another organization in the Northwest, known as the National Farmers' Alliance or the Northwestern Alliance, started

as early as 1880. It did not undertake so much business coöperation as the Southern organization, but was more alive in politics. Among its demands was one for the free coinage of silver.

In 1889 meetings of both these general farmers' organizations, the Northern and the Southern, were called in St. Louis for the purpose of effecting some sort of consolidation, but the efforts were unsuccessful. Within a few years there were signs of disintegration.

The People's party. Excursions into politics by farmers' organizations had not been successful. Party ties were still strong in both North and South. Attempts to organize defections, either within the Democratic party of the South or the Republican party of the North, have never succeeded in breaking either of the old parties. In fact, the farmers are probably the most intensely loyal supporters of both parties. However, the failure of the Greenback party and the difficulty in securing concessions from either of the old parties convinced a good many farmers that a new party was needed.

Sporadic attempts by the Knights of Labor, by Henry George and other reformers, failed to produce a third party strong enough to make an impression. The United Labor party polled less than 147,000 votes in 1888, and those mostly in the Southwest. By 1890, however, things began to crackle, and the People's party had its origin in Kansas. The campaigns of that year took on an epic quality. Such characters as Mary Ellen Lease, Jerry Simpson, William A. Peffer, and a host of lesser lights blazed forth in sudden glory and became guiding stars for a line of bucolic statesmen in other states and later years.

In July, 1892, nearly 1300 delegates met in Omaha to frame a platform for the new party. Monetary inflation, free coinage of silver, and a great many other radical planks, with some not so radical, which have since been enacted, were adopted. The adoption was followed by a remarkable demonstration of enthusiasm, but the choice of a candidate for the presidency was not so easy. It finally fell upon the veteran third-party candidate, James B. Weaver, who polled nearly a million votes.

The free-silver movement. By 1896 it was apparent that the one chance for currency expansion lay in the free coinage of silver. Neither of the old parties was very clear on that question. Even the Republican nominee, McKinley, had been a halfway supporter of the silver cause, but the platform declared for the gold standard and McKinley supported it. The Democratic convention, however, presented two sets of resolutions, one for free silver and one for the gold standard. W. J. Bryan's oratory swept the convention to the side of free silver, and thus the two parties were squarely divided on that question.

When one considers the times, and the combinations of circumstances that had made the money question a burning one, — the long growth of agrarian class consciousness, the genuine distress of the farmers because of the overexpansion of farming, and of the wageworkers because of the overrapid immigration, — it is somewhat surprising that free silver did not carry the election; however, it is fortunate that it did not.

Present agrarian movement. After the free-silver movement subsided, a number of things happened to allay agricultural discontent and prevent the rise of another agrarian movement for a period of years. In the first place, the cyanide process of extracting gold from low-grade ore, and the Alaskan and South African gold discoveries, added so largely to the world's gold supply as to cheapen gold and to raise prices in terms of gold. In the second place, the practical exhaustion of the free public lands retarded the rate of Western settlement and the agricultural expansion. Consuming power began to catch up with producing power, and the farmers have generally not been so hard up since as they were in the seventies, eighties, and nineties. Therefore there has been general contentment among the farming population except in the wheat fields of the West.

While the stream of Western settlement within our own borders began to slow down in the late nineties, it kept on moving northward and westward into Canada. The Canadian Northwest is almost exclusively a wheat country. The settlement of that country, therefore, is an expansion of the wheat belt. Canadian wheat competes in European markets on even

terms with our own. This competition has been felt in those parts of this country where wheat is the main crop. Naturally our wheat farmers have felt that they were not sharing in the general prosperity of the rest of the country. Here we have the underlying explanation of the Nonpartisan League, the latest of the agrarian movements in this country.

The case is complicated by the disturbances of the World War. The high prices of certain products were reflected in the high price of land, and this led to a land boom in certain states, especially Iowa. The inevitable fall in prices following the boom left thousands of farmers in distress, especially those who went in debt when prices were high. Discontent and irritation over hardships which are not one's own fault, and which one is powerless to prevent, is something to which we are all subject. It sometimes results in a feeling of desperation and a willingness to try anything.

When the man who is suffering from a wasting sickness goes to a scientific physician, he may be disappointed. The physician, as a scientific man and therefore honest, may be compelled to tell him that there is no cure and that he had better reconcile himself to his fate; but the man's fighting instinct rebels against this, and he may refuse to accept the doctor's verdict. It is, of course, commendable that he should make a fight for his life, but it sometimes leads him to listen to a quack who makes large promises.

Even though the case is not entirely hopeless, the doctor may have to tell the patient that the process of cure will be long and tedious, that he must wait for the healing processes of nature, and that there is not much that the doctor can do except to advise him as to diet and other things that may aid nature in its curative process. Even this may be disappointing to the man who is suffering pain every hour of the day and night. What he wants is a specific remedy that will bring a prompt cure. The scientific physician may know of no such remedy, and may be compelled to say so. The patient in this case also cannot always be expected to maintain a judicial attitude of mind, and cannot be blamed too much if he lends

a willing ear to the man who makes large promises. That is why medical quacks flourish.

Similarly, the man who is in the grip of poverty sees himself unable to provide his family with what they obviously need. He may see his farm slipping away from him because of his inability to lift a mortgage note. If he goes to an economist for a remedy, the economist may be compelled in all honesty to tell him that there is no immediate help; that he will probably never be able to pay off the mortgage and that he had better let his farm go at once than to make a long and losing fight; that he had better change his occupation, as there is no prospect of better times in the occupation in which he is now engaged. The same fighting spirit that leads the sick man to keep on fighting for his life and health may animate the farmer in this situation, and induce him to continue fighting against the adverse economic circumstances which surround him. Furthermore, he cannot be expected always to maintain a judicial attitude of mind under such circumstances. In his desperation he may lend an attentive ear to the man who makes large promises in the way of immediate relief. That is why political demagogues flourish.

During the seventies and eighties and the early nineties of the last century practically all our farmers were enmeshed in a combination of circumstances from which there was no immediate escape. The markets of the world were being flooded with surplus products of our Western farms, and prices were ruinously low. Immigrants from Europe were coming by the million, and many of them, at least during the seventies and eighties, were settling on Western lands and adding their products to the stream that was already large. They also began, a little later, to flock to our cities and to oversupply the labor market. The slum problem and other indications of extreme poverty began to attract the social workers and evoke the sympathy of large numbers of other people. There was no possible cure for the situation except a retardation of the rate of agricultural expansion and the restriction of immigration. The retardation of agricultural expansion came automatically

when the good farming lands of the West were practically exhausted. The retardation of immigration came first with the World War, and then with the restrictive legislation that immediately followed. These have already begun to produce their normal results except among the wheat farmers of the West, who are, as pointed out above, suffering from competition with the rapidly expanding wheat crop of the Canadian Northwest. However, the retardation of that Canadian expansion is already beginning, and our wheat farmers will soon begin to gain an advantage from it.

The rise and fall of agrarian movements. Agricultural discontent and agrarian movements in politics seem to rise and fall according to the prosperity or lack of prosperity of the farmers. In times of severe depression the discontent is pretty certain to formulate demands that the government shall "do something about it." It is well to admit that in times of extreme hardship ordinary economic principles and reasoning do not apply. When men, women, and children of a great city are hungry for bread which cannot be had, it is useless to talk economics to them or to attempt to apply economic principles. The government must do something about it or there will be bread riots. When there is housing shortage, and large numbers of people have not where to lay their heads, the less we attempt to apply economic arguments the less likely we are to talk silly nonsense. It is not a situation to which economic arguments and principles can apply. Relief of some kind is necessary to prevent a distinctly human reaction in the form of mob violence or revolution. Those who try to use economic arguments, either to justify the rioters or to quell them, are wasting their breath. The same observations apply to a situation where multitudes of people are out of work and destitute. The necessitous man is not a free man; if he has labor to sell, he cannot meet the buyer of labor on equal terms. It is not necessary to argue this point; it is universally admitted. It looks so obvious as to seem unnecessary to state that the solution of an acute labor problem lies in the direction of making labor scarce rather than superabundant. If that can be done, wages are automatically raised and the laborer is

automatically made free in the fullest possible sense. One who glibly states that the necessitous man is not a free man, and yet will not turn his hand over to bring about the conditions that make him a free man, does not deserve much consideration. When farmers are in a necessitous state, something must be done for them, whether economic arguments can be found for it or not. But there is no real cure for that situation until conditions are created under which the farmers can readily sell what they produce at a remunerative price. No expression of sympathy for "the poor farmer" is worth much unless it comes from a man who is doing what he can to bring about that relief. This should be the long-time policy with respect to agriculture, even though in temporary and extreme emergencies it may be necessary to give some immediate relief which could hardly be justified as a part of the permanent agricultural policy.

Political weakness economic strength. It is a general rule that the more numerous a given class becomes relatively to the rest of the population, the stronger it becomes politically but the weaker it becomes economically. There was a time when the farmers were in a weak economic position because they were so numerous. They produced such large crops, and there was so much competition among them in the selling of those crops, as to depress prices. This weak economic position might have been compensated by the fact that they were strong politically, had it not been that they were divided on noneconomic grounds. The farmers of the South and Southwest regularly voted one ticket; the farmers of the North and Northwest regularly voted another ticket, and they could never get together. If they had been able to vote together from the close of the Civil War down to the end of the century, their very numbers would have enabled them to control the politics of the country. But they were divided by the issues that grew out of the Civil War, and thus an agrarian party was made impossible.

Since the beginning of the present century, the growth in the number of farmers has not kept pace with the rest of the population. This has tended to improve their conditions economically

but to put them in a weak position politically. An agrarian party would necessarily be a minority party, and might even provoke retaliation from the urban majorities. At the same time the farmers' growing economic strength will make it unnecessary for them to resort to political methods. In fact, it might eventually mean extortion rather than defense if they did. That is to say, if their dwindling numbers should make them prosperous, they would no longer need political power for purposes of defense. If they were able to exercise political power under those conditions, it would begin to look like extortion to the urban consumers, and that would probably force them to vote together against the agrarian party.

QUESTIONS

1. What was the period of greatest activity of the kind known as agrarian movements in our history, and what were some of these movements?

2. What combination of circumstances tended to produce agricultural discontent during that period?

3. It has been stated that, after all, the greatest class distinction in this country is the distinction between those who live in the city and those who live in the country. In what sense is this true and in what sense is it not true?

4. Why do our people not align themselves politically into two main parties, an urban party and a rural party, or an industrial party and an agrarian party, or something of that kind? Do you think that such a political alignment is likely to come in the near future?

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CHAPTER XVII

FARMERS' NONPOLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

In the previous chapter we discussed the attempts to organize farmers for political purposes. We next have to consider national movements which aim at other than political ends.

Farmers' clubs. Probably the oldest form of rural organization known in this country is the farmers' club. It is a distinctly rural organization, sometimes restricted to a school district or a fairly limited neighborhood, seldom including more than a township. The purpose is primarily social, though frequently the social purpose broadens out into an educational or an economic purpose. In one club, for example, it was found that the farmers were paying excessive prices for certain necessary supplies. They decided to pool their orders and purchase on a large scale. Because they already had an effective working organization they were saved the trouble of forming one for this special purpose. A farmers' club can easily develop into a local association for the improvement of roads, school grounds, and bridges, or for the general adornment and embellishment of the country homes, or for the improvement of the breeds of live stock, or for any one of a multitude of reasons.

It is not a difficult matter to organize a farmers' club where no other organization exists to serve the same purpose. Someone must be willing to make the first move, usually by inviting his neighbors to a meeting at his farm, — in the grove if it is summer time, in the house if it is winter time. He can either provide a light lunch or invite them to bring their lunches. When people are sitting around the common board, the coöperative spirit is easily inspired, and the project of a farmers' club can be presented. The idea will usually be accepted if the farmers are assured that the organization is to be a wholly voluntary one with no heavy overhead expenses.

It is of the utmost importance that the club shall have a purpose. Merely to say "Go to now, let us be organized," or "Let us have a club," is not very effective. If the purpose is merely to have a good time, that should be frankly stated. Farmers need more such opportunities, and most of them will admit it. If some other purpose, such as local improvement, or better coöperative marketing or selling, is in mind, this should be definitely stated. However, it is well not to undertake too much at first. It should be understood, of course, that party politics and religious differences should never be discussed at club meetings. The more things of distinctly local importance the club finds to do, the more successful it will be. A live and progressive farmers' club, organized by farmers, run by them and in the interest of farmers, is an asset to any community.

The threshing ring. Another type of local organization that has had considerable development in some of the Middle Western states is known as the threshing ring. Almost simultaneously it sprang into being in Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Iowa in 1904. It seems to have grown spontaneously out of a common need that existed in each of these states. It became the common practice for several farmers in a community to own jointly a threshing outfit, and the threshing ring was organized for the purpose of effecting such ownership. Doubtless the threshing ring grew out of the old custom that came in with the invention of the threshing machine and persists in the Middle West, and even as far east as western New York, to this day. In order properly to man a threshing machine it was found necessary for the whole neighborhood to turn out and help the farmers who did not have enough hired men. A machine was ordinarily owned by one man and was operated by him with two or three permanent helpers who followed the machine from one farm to another and worked for wages. The rest of the work was done by the farmer where the threshing took place, with the help of his neighbors. He, in turn, helped his neighbors. Thus a temporary neighborhood organization was effected. The threshing season was one of the few occasions when the whole neighborhood came together.

Where this custom was well established, it was natural for the men who came together daily on the different farms to help with the threshing to decide, if they found there was any advantage in it, to own their own thresher coöperatively and to work on a coöperative basis. This was not necessarily advantageous in every individual case. If the owner of the machine was a capable man and a good manager, and gave the farmers fair terms, they probably did quite as well by hiring him as they would have done by owning their own machine. It sometimes happened, however, that no really capable and enterprising farmer with a good business head was willing to buy a machine and operate it in that way. Consequently there were many farm neighborhoods that took the initiative themselves and bought a machine on a coöperative basis.

The size of the threshing ring depends upon the neighborhood. There are records of rings having from fifteen to twenty farms; but twelve to fifteen is more common, and most rings consist of from six to twelve farms. In general the advantages seem to be in favor of the small or middle-sized rings. The group is more easily assembled and the season's work is shortened, as there are fewer farms on which one machine has to do the threshing, and the housekeeping problem is easier because the men can all eat at one table.

One advantage of the ring system over the private ownership of a thresher is the possibility of owning several different machines, say a thresher, an ensilage-cutter, and a corn-sheller. Since they are used at different seasons of the year, the same engine will run all these machines, and the same crew can man them. An initial outlay of from $3000 to $4000 is needed.

Even when small threshing rings are organized, the farm woman sometimes finds it hard to cook for the crew. It is common, where there is a ring, to reduce this hardship by serving only the noon meal. The men are expected to get their breakfast and supper at home rather than on the farm where the threshing is done. In a few cases it has been found expedient to have the men bring their dinners also, and thus relieve the farm wife of even the responsibility for the noon meal.

The Grange. Among national organizations the Grange deserves to be mentioned first, partly because it is the oldest of the surviving organizations. Though it made a brief excursion into politics, as mentioned in the last chapter, its work has been chiefly educational and social. Like most great movements it had its origin in one individual, — Oliver Kelley, of Boston. Kelley had lived in Minnesota during the early forties and was an active agent of the government in the South during reconstruction. He was impressed with the hard conditions of the farmers in both the South and the West, and decided to take some measures to bring the farmer's problems to the attention of the country. The initiation of the movement took place in Washington among some Federal employees who were not farmers at all.

The first actual grange was organized in Fredonia, New York, in 1868. For a time the activities of the Grange were strictly nonpolitical and were designed to help the farmers to help themselves, or to encourage what is called organized self-help among the farmers. The organization aimed also to call the attention of the country at large, and of the government in Washington, to the general agricultural needs. In the early seventies, however, the agricultural depression became so acute, and the agricultural discontent so violent, that the Grange literally ran away from its original organizers and leaders for a short time.

The Grange today. The purpose of the Grange is threefold: educational, social, and economic. Its educational purpose is carried out chiefly by lectures. It is probably one of the greatest lecture bureaus in the country. In this part of its work it was the forerunner of the extension departments of the state colleges which have developed since 1888. Each grange also makes use of its local talent and organizes literary programs and discussions at which papers on strictly local problems are read by members and discussed by members. Debates are open to every member of the grange, and he develops the power to defend his views. Musical programs are also provided. Thus the Grange has become a means of culture as well as a source of practical education.

Some have objected to the so-called secrecy of the Grange. The secrecy, however, is not of a very rigid sort, and is designed mainly to keep the Grange strictly a farmers' organization. This gives greater freedom in social functions than there would be if meetings were open to the public — to non-farmers as well as to farmers. Another important point to be noted is that secrecy helps safeguard the Grange against the chief menace of every farmers' organization,— designing persons who seek membership merely to exploit the farmers for political and other purposes. The cheap politician has ruined more farmers' organizations than has any other single factor. Farmers have votes, and where the votes are, there will politicians be gathered together. By being semi-exclusive the Grange has been able to maintain its position as a strictly rural organization and to develop greater freedom in social matters.

The Grange was always more or less lukewarm toward mere attempts to increase production. Its leaders saw very clearly that the farmer was suffering more from overproduction than from underproduction, and that his chief economic problem had to do with buying and selling rather than with production. In this lukewarmness toward measures to increase agricultural production the Grange was ahead of its time. Today the farmers in general are awakening to that situation and are giving more attention to marketing problems and problems of rural credit.

The Grange has always tried to foster the spirit of coöperation, realizing that if the coöperative spirit can be kept alive, actual business coöperation can be easily organized. Where the coöperative spirit is absent, business coöperation will be difficult to organize, however much it may be needed.

The Grange organization was patterned after that of the national, state, and local governments. In other words, it has a national organization, an organization in each state, and, so far as possible, an organization in each county, township, and other local unit. It provides also for juvenile granges under the fostering care of the general organization.

The work and influence of the Grange have helped in every forward-looking movement in rural betterment. It includes

over a million persons and has had some influence in the following movements: the creation and development of the United States Department of Agriculture, support of the agricultural colleges, farmers' institutes, the Pure Food and Drug Act, rural free delivery of mail, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Denatured-Alcohol Bill, postal savings banks, the parcels post, the forest-reserve policy, the good-roads movement, farmers' mutual insurance companies, buying and selling agencies, cooperative creameries, and consolidated schools. The Grange has also supported other farmers' organizations in specific marketing movements.

One of the outstanding achievements of the Grange is undoubtedly the creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission. One of its most vigorous campaigns was that of the seventies for the regulation of freight rates. The farmers of the Middle West were vitally interested in freight rates because so much of their prosperity depended on their ability to get their grain to Eastern markets. The most effective of all the laws that were passed by either the various states or Congress was the Interstate Commerce Act, which was distinctly a Grange achievement.

The Gleaners. This organization, like most of the other farm organizations, sprang into existence as a consequence of agricultural depression and discontent. It disclaims all political affiliations, yet it seems to have grown more or less directly out of the panic of 1893. Organization was begun in Michigan in 1894, and later the movement spread to Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, and Iowa, until a membership of 92,000, comprising 1300 local orders, had been reached. Its declaration of purposes emphasizes noninterference in political and religious affairs, the fostering of the spirit of coöperation, the preservation of humanity, and the general elevation of mankind. It encourages practical benevolence to its own needy members; it organizes buying and selling agencies both for the marketing of its own crops and for the purchasing of supplies. As a national organization its work is less effective than as a local organization. In other words, its best work has been done by its local units.

The Farmers' Union. This organization is the first permanent one to originate in the South. It grew out of discontent, especially among the cotton-growers of Texas. The leading spirit in the early movement was Newton Gresham, who had been trained in the newspaper business and was at the time living in Smyrna, Texas. The first local union was organized by him in his home town on September 2, 1902, and the movement spread rapidly through the cotton states and many of the states of the Middle West. In applying for their first state charter the leaders of the movement stated their purposes. Since all those who engaged in the distribution of the farmers' products were organized, it was proposed that the farmers also should organize to (1) buy and sell, (2) establish justice, (3) apply the Golden Rule, (4) secure quality, (5) discourage mortgages, (6) promote scientific farming, (7) prevent gambling in corn and cotton, (8) teach farm management, (9) foster a harmonious sentiment among farmers, and (10) extend good will to their fellow men.

The Farmers' Union, like the Gleaners, emphasizes the importance of the local units, and its growth and success have sometimes been ascribed to this fact. The actual cutting edge of the organization is always a local union. The state and national organizations exist merely to enable the local units to work more effectively in coöperation with one another. It has not made the mistake of building up a great national organization, with a heavy overhead cost, to the neglect of the local units, where the work must actually be done.

The membership in the Farmers' Union is somewhat uncertain and varies from year to year. At times it has claimed more than three and a half million members. It has extended throughout many of the Northern states, but its main strength is still in the South, Texas having had as high as 3500 local unions, and Arkansas and Oklahoma 1400.

The Farmers' Equity Union. The Equity, as it is commonly called, was first organized in Indiana. In 1902 there was severe criticism of various governmental and commercial agencies, from the Federal government down to the retailer in the smallest country town. An antipathy for big business grew up, and a

general fear spread rapidly that the trust movement would envelop the whole country like a huge octopus. The Equity was the product of this feeling.

The Farmers' Equity Union received its charter December 4, 1902. It had less difficulty in securing the sanction of the state than had the Farmers' Union, which was obliged to wait more than four years. Its purposes are similar to those of the other farm organizations. Its members are pledged to support education, the study of economic problems, scientific farming, and protective organizations, and to encourage social intercourse, peace and good will, and the spirit of coöperation. It is somewhat more class-conscious than other farmers' organizations. Its form of organization resembles that of the Grange. It makes use of the initiative and referendum in its own internal politics, and favors the spread of those institutions to governmental affairs.

Under the name of democracy it encourages a good deal of autonomy, and seems to feel that it is better to have this loose organization even though it is at times inefficient. This is conspicuously illustrated by the failure to impose adequate business standards on many of the local units that handle considerable amounts of money. This helps to explain the somewhat large numbers of insolvencies.

The Equity fosters the fraternal spirit, as shown by the help extended to those in misfortune. Arbitration of disputes among members in place of court proceedings is insisted upon. It makes use of a union label. In general we may say that the Farmers' Equity Union resembles, more than any other farmers' organization, the ordinary labor union.

Farmers' National Congress. The Farmers' National Congress first met in Chicago in 1881, and has met annually ever since. Its origin is generally believed to be due to influences springing from the success of the Grange. In 1902 a new constitution was adopted which provided for the affiliation of all national, state, and county organizations into an organic whole in order to add dignity and strength by concentrated and united action. It aims to be a federation of all existing organizations and to make

the multiplication of separate organizations unnecessary. However, instead of reducing the total number of organizations, it has merely added one more to the number. What will happen in the future no one can predict. It is still confidently hoped by its promoters that it will succeed in uniting all farmers in one great organization.

The policies of the Farmers' National Congress covered a large field and extended far beyond the limits of agriculture and the farm problems as such. They included the reduction of official salaries and the extension of government ownership. The organization regards inequitable taxation as the basis of the existing economic inequalities, and aims to inaugurate a program providing for the exemption of a certain portion of the homestead from taxation. This would aid in putting into operation another policy which the organization ardently supports, namely, the limitation of excessive fortunes and predatory wealth. It contends that great fortunes have been amassed by exploiting natural resources and labor, and that the general policy of conservation must be instituted to save coming generations from handicaps caused by the depletion of these things. While proposing a great deal of government interference, they insist upon untrammeled freedom of speech as necessary, so that future generations may enjoy the liberties our forefathers conceived.

The congress has also a social plank in its platform which provides for eugenics, the control of immigration, old-age pensions for farmers and laborers, education for agriculture, domestic science, and home economics. It is argued that economic questions spring from the lack of adjustment between labor and capital and management, and that a tremendous waste results from unused labor occasioned by the seasonal character of many crafts; that from the ranks of those wage-earners who are idle during certain seasons of the year labor forces could be organized for other fields; that soldiers also could be employed on the public highways and on government construction work, — to the extent at least of paying for their upkeep.

National Agricultural Organization Society. This organization differs slightly from other farm organizations in that it was modeled after the Irish Agricultural Organization Society. Its outstanding characteristic may be said to be a more thorough emphasis upon economic principles in the solution of the farmers' problems. This organization grew out of the national conference on marketing and farm credits which was held in Chicago in 1915. The feverish excitement resulting from the stress of the war in Europe was felt. The demand by Europe for the products of American farmers made competition among buyers keener, but at the same time attention was focused upon our marketing methods, and certain glaring weaknesses were discovered which this new organization hoped to remedy. The necessity of organizing agriculture and other rural industries in the United States on a coöperative basis was emphasized. A widespread educational program consisting of lectures, bulletins, graphs, and figures was projected, to see what the actual facts regarding our marketing system were.

The organization is not unlike the Grange and one or two others, with local, county, state, and regional bodies, all working in unison under general supervision of a national body. The local organization, however, is especially emphasized as the actual working unit, with the national organization merely as a coördinator.

The National Agricultural Society. This organization began its work in 1916. It was formed by a number of persons who had been delegates to various conventions aiming at the study of agricultural problems. Its purpose was to serve as a mouthpiece to the farmers in agricultural questions of national interest. Its scope was to be nation-wide. It was especially interested in rural credits and uniform agricultural legislation. Its immediate program consists in spreading information relating to better methods of distributing and marketing farm products.

The Farmers' Institute. An act passed by the Michigan legislature in 1921 initiated the Farmers' Institute, and until the Farm Bureau was organized it did the most effective educational work of any rural organization. It is always connected with the

agricultural department of a state agricultural college, whence lecturers go before the different farmers' institutes, explaining methods of improved agricultural production. It is under the joint management of a representative of the Department of Agriculture in Washington and a representative of the state agricultural college, the latter being the managing agent. In 1922 there were 6800 meetings of agricultural institutes, with an estimated attendance of 2,700,000 people.

Farmers' coöperative demonstration work. In 1903 and 1904 Congress authorized demonstration work designed to prevent the ravages of the boll weevil in Texas and other cotton-growing states. This work was begun by Dr. Seaman A. Knapp, who conceived the idea of demonstrations on the owners' farms. At first the only object was to get rid of the weevil; but later it was found that instruction in rotation of crops was needed, and therefore demonstrations in growing corn and other crops were instituted. In order to extend the work to its fullest usefulness, county agents were appointed to conduct the work under general supervision, each in his own county. These agents, however, divided their activities under the following heads: first, actual demonstrations on local farms before the farmers and their families and neighbors; secondly, dissemination of information through bulletins, speeches, meetings, and lectures; thirdly, the organization of local farmers for the purpose of carrying on demonstration work. The work in the South has been coördinated by bringing the local units into federations composed of representatives from local organizations.

American Country Life Association. One of the latest organizations to benefit country life, this association held its first meeting in Baltimore in 1919. Its origin has been ascribed to conditions revealed as the result of the observation of the draft boards during the World War. The object of this organization may be said to be on a somewhat higher plane than that of any of the other rural organizations mentioned. The proceedings of its annual meetings show something of its aim and purpose. The topics for discussion are those relating to country life pure and simple, rural health, rural organization, the relation of the vil-

lage to the open country, the rural home, rural architecture, the beautification of the countryside, and, in fact, practically everything pertaining to country life except agriculture itself. Its main supporters are not farmers but members of other professions.

Boys' and girls' club work. The farmers' organizations mentioned thus far have been voluntary organizations organized and financed by voluntary contributions and without government aid. The boys' and girls' club work, on the other hand, has had the fostering care and the financial aid of both the Federal and the state government. Boys' and girls' clubs are commonly organized under the patronage of the local farm bureau. The type of organization has become somewhat standardized, and certain regulations apply to all. A standard form of constitution must be adopted by each club. One regulation is that there must be for each club a membership of at least five persons working toward the same project. Each club must carry out at least one definite project. Each project must be completed within a year, and, if the club continues, a new project must be adopted each year. A local exhibit of the results of the project must be held annually.

While the general form of organization is thus standardized, the actual carrying out of the club program is left as much as possible to the members themselves. The encouragement of initiative on the part of club members, and the steering of the club through numerous dangers, however, require leaders who have had training in the problems involved. One of the dangers whose avoidance requires expert leaders is that the work for which the club member gets credit may not be wholly his. It may represent the participation of another member of the family. Even when this is done without bad intention, it defeats the purpose of the club. Another danger to be dealt with relates to prizes. There is always the possibility that a prize may be out of proportion to the effort expended or the value of the result. To give young people the feeling that large prizes or big rewards may be won in this world with small effort is bad. A third danger is that the results of a prize contest may give the member an undue opinion of his own importance, especially if

he wins prizes for several successive years. Boys and girls, however, usually have effective ways of preventing one of their own number from thinking too highly of himself. There are always persons who are against the competitive spirit. It is a verifiable fact, however, that in any kind of work that may be selected one person can do better than another. Any attempt to hide that fact is dishonest; any unwillingness to face it is cowardly. The same individual who is easily outstripped in one field of endeavor may himself outstrip others in another field of endeavor. That fact also should be faced intelligently and courageously and never be hidden or in any way obscured.

A fourth danger is that the main purpose of all this club work may be overlooked. It is the development of children, not the improvement of crops. In so far as the improvement of crops can be made a means of developing the children it is good, but when the improvement of crops becomes the end, and the children are used as a means to that end, the result is bad. It becomes a form of exploitation of children, and sometimes a form of using children for advertising the neighborhood.

The Farm Bureau. Like the boys' and girls' club work, the Farm Bureau is supported in part by Federal funds. It aims to correlate the activities of all other organizations and really to accomplish, under Federal patronage, what one or two others have hoped to accomplish by private funds. None of the other national organizations has actually succeeded in the ambitious plan to correlate all local activities. The forming of a new organization for this purpose always runs the risk of merely adding one more to the large number of organizations, thus increasing the difficulties of correlation. It was hoped, however, that under Federal support this might succeed where others had failed.

The use of Federal funds is contingent upon contributions by both the states and the counties where farm bureaus are organized. Thus in a peculiar sense it is a government organization. Like all other organizations, however, it expects its individual members to contribute to its support. The combined contributions of Federal, state, and county governments, plus the contributions of individual members, give the Farm Bureau

more ample financial support than any of the other national organizations have yet been able to secure.

The county agent. There is a fairly close relationship between the county agent and the Farm Bureau, though they are really distinct. There were county agents long before farm bureaus were organized. In a sense the county agent was the forerunner of the Farm Bureau, and since the Federal organization of the Farm Bureau the county agent has become a part of that organization.

The county-agent idea is of Southern origin. As in the case of many other great movements, it sprang from misfortune and disaster. The invasion of Texas by the Mexican boll weevil in 1903, bringing panic and consternation to the cotton-growers, resulted in this movement. In the spring of 1903 the business men of Terrell, Texas, called a mass meeting to consider the boll-weevil situation. Dr. Seaman A. Knapp, an experienced teacher who was then engaged in a large agricultural enterprise in Louisiana, was summoned to address the gathering. His arguments carried conviction, and the meeting decided to give Dr. Knapp's plan a trial. This was to demonstrate to the farmers on a real cotton farm the possibility of growing cotton at a profit even under boll-weevil conditions. As no farmer was willing to assume the whole risk, the business men decided to underwrite the experiment, and W. C. Porter, a prominent farmer, agreed to carry out the experiment on his farm. He planted forty acres of cotton under Dr. Knapp's direction. The experiment was so successful that instead of incurring a loss, he made a net profit of $700. This demonstration was more convincing than speeches or books could have been, and therefore restored the confidence of the farmers.

The next Congress passed an emergency appropriation for the fighting of the boll weevil. Dr. Knapp was sent to Houston, Texas, where he established his headquarters in 1904. Every rural organization and many business organizations coöperated, working under the direction of the central office. The Fort Worth and Denver Railroad Company organized agricultural-lecture trains and sent them out to arouse public interest and secure the coöperation of farmers. More than 7000

farmers pledged themselves to cultivate a few acres of cotton under the supervision of Dr. Knapp and his agents. From that time forward the experiment grew.

It was found that there were other factors besides the boll weevil that operated against the cotton farmer. The soil needed rotation, purer seed, and better cultivation and fertilization. Corn was introduced as a crop to be grown in rotation. The growing of garden produce and home supplies became a more common practice, greatly to the advantage of the cotton farmers.

After the movement in the South had demonstrated its success, Congress passed, in 1914, the Smith-Lever Act, which provided for an annual appropriation of $10,000 for each state, plus the additional sum of $600,000, to be divided among the various states according to their rural population. It provided also for an increase of $300,000 for each year thereafter for seven years. After the expiration of this act in 1922, the sum total to be divided was increased to $4,100,000. No state, however, is to receive any of this fund unless its legislature provides an equal amount.

Under the stimulation of this act and of the Federal and state aid for which it provided, the county-agent movement grew rapidly. In 1922 agents were employed in 2100 counties in the United States, assisted by home demonstrators in 800 counties and boys' and girls' club agents in 200 counties. It was estimated that these agents came in contact with two and a half million farm homes. In the North and West about 80 per cent of the agricultural counties had county agents, and those counties contained 77 per cent of the total number of farms of the thirty-three agricultural states.

The figures in the table on pages 357–360 give some idea of the influence of the county-agent work. All such figures, however, must be accepted with certain reasonable discounts. The fact that over 100,000 farmers selected seed corn under the advice and supervision of a county agent does not mean that none would have selected seed corn had the county agent not been present. Yet the fact that so many did select seed corn under the agent's advice indicates that the agent has had a great

deal of influence. With the same qualification as to all the other figures given in the following table, they are presented as indicative of the very great helpfulness of the county agents.

There is a noticeable decline from 1920 to 1921 in most of the figures. The explanation is that in the beginning of 1920 agriculture was at the peak of a boom. Before the beginning of 1921 there had been a marked decline in agricultural prosperity, and the discouragement which many farmers experienced affected even the county-agent movement.

RESULTS OF COUNTY-AGENT WORK, 1920–1921[1]

	1920	1921
CORN		
Farmers selecting seed corn	113,842	107,853
Bushels of seed corn selected	752,569	703,740
Farmers testing seed corn for germination	59,510	51,731
Bushels of corn tested for germination	273,376	202,807
Acres planted with tested seed	1,602,429	1,294,164
Farms on which corn-growing was introduced or farm practice relative to corn culture modified	16,687	15,180
Acres involved	283,105	215,197
WHEAT, OATS, BARLEY, AND RYE		
Farmers treating seed wheat for smut	35,275	40,597
Bushels of seed wheat treated for smut	2,405,095	2,423,264
Farms on which wheat-growing was introduced	43,446	78,396
Acres involved	851,984	607,923
Farmers treating seed oats for smut	40,660	51,654
Bushels of seed oats treated for smut	1,197,407	1,123,211
Acres of oats sown with treated seed	599,147	697,308
Farms on which oat-growing was introduced	11,549	7,956
Acres involved	130,398	113,736
Farms on which barley-growing was introduced	2,450	1,971
Acres involved	109,273	74,107
Farms on which rye-growing was introduced	5,595	4,779
Acres involved	86,688	92,870
FRUIT		
Farms on which orchards were planted	4,331	3,011
Acres involved in orchards	22,723	22,584
Farms on which fruit trees were pruned	13,795	22,437
Acres involved in pruning	121,137	256,685
Farms on which fruit trees were sprayed	20,723	27,548
Acres involved in spraying work	143,986	277,474
Farms on which fruit-planting was modified	1,125	4,581
Acres involved in modified fruit farming	2,489	24,047

[1] United States Department of Agriculture, *Department Circular 244*, pp. 38–40.

RESULTS OF COUNTY-AGENT WORK, 1920–1921 (CONTINUED)

FARM ECONOMICS AND MARKETING WORK	*1920*	*1921*
Farm accounting books distributed	71,642	51,883
Farmers keeping such accounts through the year	19,829	18,448
Farmers assisted in summarizing their accounts	11,007	8,454
Farmers changing business as result of accounts	3,213	2,972
Farmers adopting cropping, live stock, and new systems	7,725	10,964
Buildings on farms changed according to plans	4,119	6,590
Farm leases drawn or modified	1,232	2,003
Farm laborers supplied	101,400	83,983
Farmers assisted in securing machinery to economize labor	6,441	4,995
Farm-loan associations organized	144	207
Credit associations organized	76	45
Farms involved in farm-loan and credit associations	7,586	6,015
Number of buying and selling coöperatives	7,486	8,977
Associations involved in buying and selling	4,843	4,383
Number of farmers assisted by county agent in buying and selling	117,477	123,035
Coöperative associations formed by help of county agent	1,988	1,701
Members of such associations	148,157	227,424
Value of business done through such associations	$39,562,964	$40,177,127
Savings effected over usual method	$2,899,764	$3,475,709
FARM-HOUSE PROJECTS		
Water-supply systems planned and installed	603	662
Sewage-disposal systems planned and installed	717	1,040
Lighting systems planned and installed	1,474	572
Farm homes remodeled according to plans furnished	485	560
Grounds improved according to plans furnished	942	1,153
Homes in which labor-saving machinery was introduced	1,521	2,269
Household laborers supplied through agent	1,794	2,442
Homes modifying practice relative to gardening	1,851	8,973
BEANS AND POTATOES		
Farms on which bean-growing was introduced	3,039	2,304
Acres involved	29,571	30,926
Farmers treating seed potatoes for disease	36,018	40,352
Acres involved	142,704	261,023
Farmers spraying potatoes for disease	20,282	29,812
Acres involved	66,089	120,064
Farms on which potato-growing was introduced	14,873	17,187
Acres involved	80,330	65,563

RESULTS OF COUNTY-AGENT WORK, 1920–1921 (CONTINUED)

	1920	1921
LEGUMES, OTHER HAY, AND FORAGE		
Farms on which alfalfa-growing was introduced	12,795	15,800
Acres involved	158,435	120,514
Farms on which sweet-clover growing was introduced	6,675	11,833
Acres involved	89,221	139,561
Farms on which red or white clover was introduced	10,954	13,959
Acres involved	99,723	163,846
Farms on which soy beans were introduced	14,921	14,001
Acres involved	104,446	132,116
Farms on which sorghum was introduced	3,169	1,968
Acres involved	68,195	27,751
SOILS, DRAINAGE, IRRIGATION, AND FERTILITY		
Drainage systems planned and adopted	1,737	1,856
Acres involved in such drainage systems	470,239	389,879
Irrigation systems planned and adopted	416	361
Acres involved	1,365,141	1,435,478
Farmers who used commercial fertilizer	111,690	110,347
Tons of commercial fertilizer used	286,275	268,777
Acres of clover and other legumes plowed under	189,972	280,633
Farms on which soil was tested for acidity	19,237	22,093
Farms on which lime or limestone was used	24,157	23,421
Tons of lime or limestone included	541,374	360,173
RODENT AND PEST CONTROL		
Farms on which rodent-control methods were followed	77,795	68,244
Acres involved in rodent control	15,924,460	13,508,452
Pounds of poisoned bait used in rodent control	2,129,242	1,136,949
Farms on which insect control was practiced	74,205	73,665
Acres involved in insect control	3,394,368	2,242,492
Pounds of poisoned bait used in insect control	8,873,598	5,915,716
LIVE STOCK		
Registered stallions and mares secured	485	435
Registered bulls secured		
Beef	3,869	3,825
Dairy	4,438	4,668
Registered cows secured		
Beef	5,613	3,406
Dairy	15,297	13,403
High-grade cows secured		
Beef	3,747	3,186
Registered rams secured	2,456	1,742

RESULTS OF COUNTY-AGENT WORK, 1920–1921 (CONTINUED)

LIVE STOCK	1920	1921
Cow-testing associations organized	7,842	9,741
Number of members of above associations	13,609	12,695
Cows tested	183,269	184,813
Cows discarded as result of test	30,306	38,425
Farmers assisted in calculating balanced rations	25,585	28,038
Silos erected	9,587	3,799
Farms on which poultry practice was modified	59,286	103,302
Animals tested for tuberculosis	232,700	935,771
Animals treated for blackleg	287,694	303,206
Hogs inoculated against cholera	412,811	515,272
Hogs treated for hemorrhagic septicæmia	62,473	47,464
Farmers assisted in controlling necrobacillosis	2,668	2,683
Farmers assisted in controlling contagious abortion	2,413	3,758
Farmers introducing beekeeping	3,379	4,833
Number of hives involved	29,358	47,840

How county agents are supported. Four different methods of organizing for the support of county agents are in force:

1. Many counties organize as counties, with a representative membership of farmers, each paying an annual membership fee of from one to ten dollars. This type of organization usually holds a yearly meeting at the county seat, at which the agent and the executive committee or the directors report upon the year's work. It is customary to have an advisory council to meet at regular intervals, usually monthly, to consult with the county agent in regard to the conduct of the work.

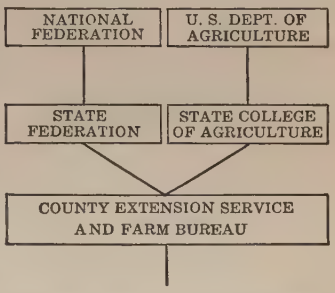
2. In other cases a central, or delegate, organization of the county is made up of delegates from the township groups or other subordinate groups. These local groups usually meet monthly and discuss matters of local interest, the county agent being present at each of these local meetings wherever possible.

3. Another method is to form a central organization for the county, composed of delegates from various rural organizations already in existence, such as farmers' clubs, the Farmers' Union, the Gleaners, local granges, the Equity, and so forth. This form differs from the second in that it federates the local organizations already in existence instead of organizing local units in the various townships and neighborhoods. It is some-

times called a federation of rural organizations, each member organization retaining its local autonomy.

4. Still another method is to form dissociated farmers' organizations without a central body. This form exists in a few places, but such organizations are rapidly joining the central Farm Bureau.

The following graph[1] shows the different forms of organization. The South had adhered consistently to the original system of farm demonstrators. In the North these methods have been modified somewhat, but the general form of organization is much the same.



GENERAL AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICE AND THE FARM-BUREAU MOVEMENT

The county-agent movement in the North. As pointed out above, the work in the South was begun under the special supervision of Dr. Seaman A. Knapp in attempts to check the disastrous results of the boll weevil. A somewhat parallel development took place in the North. In 1909 James Wilson, then Secretary of Agriculture, made a tour of New York State and saw a number of abandoned farms. On his return he reported the facts to President Roosevelt. The report attracted the attention of the Binghamton (New York) Chamber of Commerce and led that organization to devote serious study to rural conditions in the immediate neighborhood. Meanwhile the suggestion to President Roosevelt had borne fruit in the appointment of the Country Life Commission and the publication of its report. The Binghamton Chamber of Commerce also formed an organization, with the coöperation of the New York State College of Agriculture, the New York State Department of Agriculture, and the United States Department of Agriculture. A survey of Broome County and some of the contiguous territory was made. Farms were

[1] By the courtesy of the Agricultural Extension Division of the University of Minnesota, *Special Bulletin No. 61*, p. 8.

visited and studied, and the agricultural decline of that region was carefully noted.

George A. Collum, traffic manager and agricultural agent of the Lackawanna Railroad Company, attended some of the meetings of the Binghamton Chamber of Commerce and heard the discussion concerning the agricultural decline. He became actively interested and with two other members of the chamber was placed on the agricultural committee. This committee soon came to be known as a bureau, which may help to explain the origin of the name "Farm Bureau." It hired John H. Barron, a graduate of the State Agricultural College of New York, to act as the county agent. His salary was paid jointly by the Chamber of Commerce, the United States Department of Agriculture, and the Lackawanna Railroad.

Meanwhile the farmers of Bedford County, Pennsylvania, had seen the need of improved agriculture and had engaged A. B. Ross, an expert in soil fertility, to give advice. The work of Mr. Ross really preceded that of Mr. Barron, but he had local support, although he gave most of his services. While the work of Mr. Ross and of Mr. Barron differed considerably from county-agent work as it is now organized, both men may be regarded as forerunners of the county agents of today.

It was at first thought advisable to carry on farm demonstration work in the North as it was already being carried on in the South, but after consultation and consideration it was decided to have county demonstrators instead of farm demonstrators. However, it was soon discovered in Broome County that one man could not cover the whole county effectively. To enable the agent to accomplish more, community organizations were effected, and a community chairman was appointed. Thus was established a community form of organization, with the county farm bureau as the coördinating agency. The success of the movement in Broome County created so much interest that in 1913 a meeting was called and a Farm Improvement Association organized. It was changed the following year to the Broome County Farm Bureau, and this organization was separated from the Binghamton Chamber of Commerce.

The country-wide Farm Bureau movement. These small beginnings had at least shown possibilities. It only remained to spread the idea over the entire country and to organize on a nation-wide basis. In the spring of 1913 D. F. Houston had become Secretary of Agriculture. Among other things, he found awaiting him an appropriation of $10,000 to be used for the study of agricultural markets and of similar problems. He promptly made up his mind that marketing was largely a problem of organization, and decided to initiate a study of the whole matter of agricultural organization. Consequently what was known as the Rural Organization Service was established in the department, with a director and a small staff to plan a study of the whole problem of farmers' organizations.

Perhaps the most important result of this movement was the stressing of the value of local organizations to make use of the advantages offered by the state colleges of agriculture and the Federal department itself. So long as there were no local organizations of working farmers, these educational agencies had to deal with scattered and disorganized farmers. The scientific teaching emanating from these different departments and institutions would be largely wasted if it depended upon the sporadic efforts of individual farmers. There would be much greater economy of effort and much larger tangible results if organized groups could adopt suggestions and carry them out as group enterprises. This principle was stressed more than any other by both the director of the Rural Organization Service and the Secretary of Agriculture himself. The later growth of the Farm Bureau movement was at least foreshadowed by this line of reasoning.

A somewhat hasty survey was made of all the existing organizations on a national scale and as many as possible of the local organizations. Those in charge of the study were especially impressed with the work of the farm demonstrators in the South, which had been organized under Dr. Knapp, and the county agents and demonstrators in the North. One of the results of these studies was to show the advantage of enlarging this especial type of rural organization. One of the first moves

in the direction of a nation-wide organization was the bringing of the work under one office in the Department of Agriculture, which came to be known as the States Relations Service. Most of the states now began to take an interest and to assume some responsibility either for county-agent or for farm-demonstrator work. A great impetus to the movement was given in 1914 by the passage of the Smith-Lever Act, which provided Federal funds for the spread of the idea. In fact, the idea made such an appeal that it was easier to get funds than to find or train competent persons to act as county agents. The state colleges of agriculture were the only schools in a position to provide such agents, and they undertook the task courageously. The county organizations, however, had to assume full responsibility, and state colleges could merely certify to the training of a likely candidate.

The World War added further impetus to the movement. The slogan "Food will win the war," and the universal effort to speed up production in all essential lines, increased the interest in agricultural organization. Moreover, the high price which the farmers secured for most of their products made them willing to spend more money in support of farm bureaus. More important, however, was the fact that an organization actually existed in many of the counties, and that these local organizations were federated and coördinated through the state organization and through their contact with the United States Department of Agriculture. This system of county farm bureaus, each with its technically trained leader and adviser, was ready to administer the Emergency Food Administration Act for the government. The government provided sufficient funds, agricultural colleges released members of their staffs to do emergency work as county agents, and the movement proceeded by leaps and bounds.

The county bureau a local organization. In spite of Federal and state aid the responsibility for organization rests upon the farmers of each county; and if they organize, it is they who must decide the scope of the county agent's work. The county agent realizes that he must make good in the eyes of the local farmers

or his work will be discontinued. No matter how well he may stand with the state college or the Department of Agriculture, his actual success is measured by the esteem with which the farmers regard his work. He must justify his existence in their eyes.

New county problems. Now that the strain and stress of the war are over, farmers are less interested in increasing production than in getting a better price for what they produce. As a result they find they must study marketing problems even more than problems of technical production. Consequently county agents have been giving more attention to problems of buying and selling. Here and there farmers had already been buying fertilizers, feed, fuel, salt, cement, and other supplies coöperatively at considerable saving to themselves. It was natural, therefore, that the county agent should act for them in the coöperative buying of necessary supplies. But when he became the active purchasing agent for the farm bureau, he ran into difficulties. Fertilizer companies, merchants, and wholesalers found his activity somewhat obnoxious and created opposition. Ruling was finally issued from the Department of Agriculture that county agents supported by Federal funds should confine their activities to the educational field. An agent was permitted to advise the farmers in regard to the possibilities of coöperative selling and buying, so long as he himself was not the actual purchasing agent. The farm bureau may be organized, advised, and instructed by the county agent. The farm bureau may itself buy or sell coöperatively under the advice of the county agent and thus technically come under the rule.

The American Farm Bureau Federation. On February 12, 1919, representatives of the farm bureaus of twelve states met at Ithaca, New York, on invitation of the director of the New York State Federation of Farm Bureaus. Only nine states were so organized as to be able to send delegates, but other representatives came from states which were either organizing or contemplating organization. President S. L. Strivings, of the New York State federation, in his opening address proposed a national federation and suggested that its main purpose be

to provide the farmers of the nation with some thoroughly representative organization which might speak for the farmers of the entire country. A secondary purpose was so to federate the farm bureaus of the different states and counties as to increase their usefulness, and to develop a program which would reach the entire country.

A committee was appointed to formulate plans for the national organization and to report these findings at a meeting to be held at Chicago in November of the same year. The committee was also to urge other states to organize and send delegates to this meeting. These suggestions were greeted with interest and enthusiasm.

At the Chicago convention more than five hundred delegates were assembled. It was futile to hope that party politics could be excluded. Feeling was tense, and there was danger that a Mid-Western delegation would carry through a program of radical commercialism. They, in turn, feared that the delegates from the other states were not in sympathy with a strong agricultural program.

For a time it looked as if the convention would split; but finally certain compromises were agreed upon, and a middle course was pursued. It was decided that since all farm problems are basically similar, a national attitude in agricultural life is necessary, and that this must be one that is neither radical nor extremely conservative. Probably both sides were somewhat disappointed. At the next meeting, in March, 1920, a greater degree of harmony prevailed, and a working organization was effected. It was agreed that each state organization should pay into the national treasury fifty cents for each member of the county farm bureau enrolled. Twenty-eight states were ready to ratify the constitution. The membership from those states was estimated to be about 400,000, making a sum of about $200,000 available for the year. James Howard, an Iowa farmer who had also had experience as a banker and as a college professor, was chosen the president and voted a salary of $15,000, and John W. Coverdale of Iowa was elected secretary, with a salary of $12,000.

When the organization work was completed, the program of work was divided in substance as follows: [1]

(*General*) To develop a completely unified organization, to act as spokesman for the farmer in matters of national concern and to represent the farmer and the farmer's interests on all occasions.

(*a*) To create a better feeling between the farmer and other units of production, to the end that each may appreciate the needs of the other.

(*b*) To reëstablish agriculture in the public mind as the foremost industry, on which all others depend, and in the prosecution of which man reaches his highest plane of development.

(*c*) To encourage and assist in the development of food production to its highest state of efficiency.

(*d*) To foster and develop those lines of endeavor which make for better homes, better social and religious life, better health, and better rural living in every sense.

(*e*) To conduct referenda on various national questions to determine farm sentiment before determining legislative action.

(*Legislative*) (*a*) To safeguard the rights and the interests and to assert the needs of the farmer whenever occasion may arise.

(*b*) To establish without question the legality of collective bargaining.

(*c*) To insist upon the presence of "farmer minds" on all boards and commissions affecting agriculture, appointed by Congress or by the president.

(*d*) To defend the farmer's viewpoint in all matters relating to tax levies, tariffs, currency, banking, railways, highways, foreign markets, the merchant marine, waterways, territorial acquisitions, and all similar legislative matters involving questions of policy, in any way affecting agriculture.

(*e*) To insist on some arrangement between capital and labor which will insure freedom from disrupting and criminally wasteful strikes.

(*f*) To strengthen the Federal Farm Loan Act and secure in addition the establishment of a system of personal credits.

(*g*) To demand the regulation, under government supervision, of all commercial interests whose size and kind of business enables them to establish a monopoly dangerous to the best interests of the nation.

[1] For a more complete statement see O. M. Kile's "Farm Bureau Movement," pp. 128–132. The Macmillan Company, 1921.

(*Economic*) (*a*) To extend coöperative marketing of farm crops to the point in the distribution system at which maximum benefits are secured for the producer, and, incidentally, for the consumer.

(*b*) To limit the profits and reduce the costs of distribution in all lines not handled coöperatively.

(*c*) To so estimate the effective world supply of any farm product and to so regulate the flow to market as to eliminate sharp and extreme price fluctuations.

(*d*) To establish new foreign markets for surplus American farm products.

(*e*) To provide cheaper sources of fertilizer and more economical means of production.

In order to facilitate the carrying out of a program with so wide a scope, various departments have been organized as the needs arose, and now consist of the following:

(*a*) *Organization.* The secretary is in charge, and when the second annual meeting was held in December, 1920, there were forty states in the federation.

(*b*) *Legislative.* Conducted through a branch office and staff at Washington, D.C.

(*c*) *Coöperative marketing.* This department has conducted its work, to date, largely through special committees appointed to consider the marketing of a given commodity, as, for instance, the "Farmers' Grain-Marketing Committee of Seventeen," the "Farmers' Live-Stock Marketing Committee of Fifteen," and the "Farmers' Dairy-Products Marketing Committee of Eleven."

(*d*) *Transportation.* Organized to help improve to the greatest possible extent the service of the railroads, to prevent excessive transportation burdens on farm products, and to investigate tendencies in rates and regulations affecting agricultural products.

(*e*) *Economics and statistics.* Designed to furnish up-to-date and reliable information on such subjects as analyses of crop statistics; analyses of credit and business conditions and trends; studies of world supply of agricultural products, crop conditions, and forecasts based thereon.

(*f*) *Information.* To keep the general public sympathetically informed as to the purposes and accomplishments of organized

agriculture. . . . It maintains a weekly news service for farm papers, issues special news stories to daily papers, prepares feature stories for farm publications, magazines, and syndicates, and prints and distributes pamphlets and bulletins.

(*g*) *Legal.* To act as general counsel for the Federation, to draw contracts, investigate coöperative law, and safeguard the organization in all legal aspects.

(*h*) *Finance.* To collect dues, prepare budgets, approve expenditures, and keep records suitable for public audit.

The Farm Bureau today. At the present time it seems that the Federal Farm Bureau movement is the most significant step in the organization of agricultural interests that has yet been taken in this country. Its peculiar strength lies in several facts.

1. It seems to have been a spontaneous movement in various parts of the country and did not have to be worked up by special agitation.

2. The growth was from the bottom up rather than from the top down. That is, it began with farm demonstrators and county agents in local communities and spread from these local units to other communities, until finally, as interest arose, these local organizations were federated into state organizations and finally into a national organization.

3. It furnishes an organic connection between organized groups of local farmers and the educational agencies of the state colleges of agriculture, the state departments of agriculture, and the United States Department of Agriculture. Under this type of organization the workers from these various educational institutions and departments have to deal with scattered and disorganized farmers no longer; they find a seedbed already prepared for the seeds of wisdom which they are prepared to sow. In other words, they find organizations in the various counties and states that are prepared not only to furnish them audiences but also to carry out programs of improvement.

4. The existence of a well-organized farm bureau not only helps to create a coöperative spirit without which actual cooperation is impossible, but in addition furnishes an organization through which that spirit can actually work. There had

been, of course, many coöperative agencies functioning before the Farm Bureau was organized; but the coöperative movement is now much better organized, being on a more stable basis and spreading more rapidly than it could have done had the Farm Bureau movement never started.

There are, however, some alleged weaknesses in the Farm Bureau movement, as would probably be the case with any movement, however sound and well organized it might happen to be.

1. It is alleged that this form of organization is not compact enough, — that it really ought to be a corporation empowered to do business on a large scale and actually handle the farmer's business problems for him.

2. It is thought that the farmer should maintain a powerful lobby in Washington, as well as in the various state capitals, that could cope with similar lobbies representing nonagricultural interests.

3. It is alleged that the organization is not active enough, — that there is more danger in inaction than in too much action. Psychologically it is probably true that members are more loyal to organizations that are more active, even when their actions are not especially beneficial, than to those that are inactive, even when not very much that is beneficial can be done.

4. A workable basis of agreement has not yet been formed between the Farm Bureau and most other organizations supported by farmers. Such a working basis has been arranged with the Grange, greatly to the advantage of both organizations. It is to be hoped that similar arrangements can be made with all other farm organizations.

QUESTIONS

1. Which among the many farmers' nonpolitical organizations do you think best serves the purposes and furthers the interests of real working farmers?

2. If country life is less satisfying than urban life, is it any kindness to the boys and girls of the country to try to persuade them to remain on the farms?

3. Is the so-called back-to-the-land movement, or the movement to keep rural people on the farms, as advantageous to rural as to urban people?

4. Suppose the movement from country to city should be greatly accelerated. How would this affect the prosperity of those who remain on the farms and those who are already living in towns?

5. There are many people whose work is such as to enable them to live wherever they prefer, either in country or city. Do such people commonly choose to live in the country or do they commonly choose to live in the city? Why?

6. Suppose a farmers' organization did nothing to increase the farmers' income but did a great deal to give the rural people a more agreeable social and intellectual life. Would such an organization be worth while? Would it possibly induce some people to choose the country rather than the city as a place of residence?

7. Make a list of all the strictly rural organizations of which you know anything at first hand, whether these organizations are for purposes of business, religion, social intercourse, recreation, or sport. Can you think of any others that might be desirable?

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE RURAL VILLAGE

The village the oldest type of community. From many points of view the village seems to be the ideal form of community life. Neither the large city, with its noise and ugliness, nor the open country, with its isolation and lonesomeness, seems to have quite the charm of the small village. Whether there is something essentially superior in the village that makes us feel this way about it, or whether some mental characteristic has been bred into us that makes us prefer that form of life, may be open to question. Certainly the village, historically speaking, comes nearer to offering the normal way of living. The huge cities are products of the last few hundred years of the life of the peoples of northern Europe, from whom most of us are descended. They are matters of a few thousand years in the history of any existing race. The scattered farm or the isolated family unit is of even more recent development. In other words, throughout the greater part of human history, men have lived in small groups more or less closely resembling what we now call a village. In some cases the group may have been an enlarged family group, such as the descendants of a common ancestor. In some cases men may have grouped themselves on artificial grounds, such as the acceptance of a common totem or a common religion. In other cases the necessities of defense compelled them to live together in groups.

Among the American Indians, for example, such a thing as a large city was unknown. The isolated wigwam was practically unknown. Village life was the almost universal life. In these cases, apparently, it was the necessity of common defense that compelled them to live in groups. This seems to have been the case with our own primitive ancestors, so far, at least, as we are able to gather any information about them.

Having such an ancestral history back of us, some psychologist would probably say that the village idea has become a part of our mental background. Certain it is that few poets have ever sung of the great city or the isolated family. In so far as they have idealized any form of social life, it has been the village. Those Utopian writers who have pictured ideal societies have, without exception, pictured men as living in villages or small groups more or less closely resembling what we now call a village. None of them has pictured a great city of the modern type or a life of scattered farms or scattered families. Even those spots in our great cities which are most attractive have generally taken on some of the features of village life. The Pomander Walks and the Gramercy Parks are, in a sense, small villages set down in the midst of a great, roaring metropolis; at least they are made to resemble the small village in some particulars, and to shut out, as far as possible, the life of the great city.

The village a trading center. As pointed out in a previous chapter, there are two types of farming communities: one the village type, — that is, where the farmers themselves live in villages but go out to their farms to work; the other, the community of scattered farms, where the farmers live on the land which they cultivate. Most of the villages of the past, since our race developed out of the pastoral and into the agricultural state, were literally farm villages. Most of the inhabitants were farmers and their families. There is, however, another type of village which is merely a center for a community of scattered farms. It is almost always a trading center; that is, there is almost certain to be at least a store to which farmers come to trade. It may also be, to a certain extent, a manufacturing center. Before the days of large-scale production a great deal of the manufacturing was done in small villages, to supply the villagers and the surrounding farmers. A flour mill, a saw mill, perhaps a woolen mill, turned out their products; a few tailors, shoemakers, blacksmiths, and harness-makers plied their trades. But the concentration of manufacturing in larger and larger establishments has taken away from the old-fashioned country

village most of its manufacturing functions. This has necessitated a shifting of the basis of village life, but it has not altogether destroyed the village.

The changing village. To begin with, the village is more and more coming to be the center of the school life for the surrounding territory. The one-room rural school, situated in the open country, remote from any village or other community center, is passing away, and the consolidated school is bringing a new support to the village. The teachers of the consolidated school will, in all probability, want to live in the village. If the village has a railroad and a station, some railroad men will certainly make their homes there and help support its life. Again, almost every such village will need a physician, a blacksmith, a carpenter, a shoemaker. No concentration of manufacturing can quite obliterate the necessity for someone to repair farm tools and machinery, to erect farm buildings, and to repair shoes for the community. The coming of the automobile has brought to almost every village at least one filling station and probably a garage. The village will probably have a church, and that will necessitate a minister. Therefore, in addition to retired farmers and merchants who will live in the villages, almost every country village will have from twenty to fifty families who are necessary to perform the nonagricultural functions. If, in addition to the nonagricultural workers who are needed, the village is also the home of a considerable number of retired farmers, it may grow to a size that will support other enterprises, such as an inn, a library, an entertainment hall, a fire department, waterworks, a sewage system, and an electric-light plant.

Advantages of village life. The advantages of village life as compared with life on scattered farms scarcely need enumerating. A more agreeable social life is possible, and many cultural and educational advantages can be enjoyed. Occasional lecturers and entertainers are possible, to say nothing of better churches, schools, and libraries. Unfortunately, in many of our newer states, village life has scarcely begun to function. The people come there to live because employment calls them there, but no village consciousness or pride has developed. They are

not willing to work together for the common purpose of beautifying the village externally or improving its intellectual and social life. However, as these communities grow older and more settled there is a tendency toward village improvement.

Instead of calling the movement for village improvement new, it should be regarded as perhaps the oldest phase of our social life. At most we are rediscovering its possibilities after having forgotten them for a while in the mad rush for farm land in the pioneer communities and for land speculation in cities.

The ancestry of the village. Most of our institutions are derived from England, but the whole of northern Europe made its contribution. In the Middle Ages rural England was largely an England of small farm villages. At first these villages were semi-independent, though under the general rule of the kingdom. Later they were put under the direct control of a representative of the king, the lord of the manor, and he was supported, not by a salary from the king's treasury, but by the land of the community over which he ruled. This came to be known as the manorial system. However, the life was still a village life.

The manor probably presents the most picturesque example of the life of the people in the Middle Ages. The medieval manor was a world in itself. The large number of scattered acres made up the farms cultivated in the interest of the lord of the manor. The small groups of scattered strips were held by the farmers, many of them freeholders, others tenants, who furnished most of the labor for these farms; the small patches of ground were held by mere laborers whose living was gained chiefly by hired service on the land of the lord or of more prosperous tenants. All these together made up an agricultural system that secured a revenue for the lord, provided raw materials for primitive manufactures, furnished food for the inhabitants of the manor, and yielded a small surplus which could be sold. Contrast this picture with that of the village of today. Compare the life of the most out-of-the-way little country village in modern times, and ask the lonely dweller in the isolated country town if he would be willing to change places with the villeins and farmers of the manorial era.

The New England town, with its famous town meeting, is thought by some to be the development of the old Teutonic tradition of largely independent local communities, perpetuated in many parts of England to the days of the Stuarts and brought by the Puritans to New England. A Dutch village community on the Hudson River also claims our attention. Tradition attributes the settlement of New Paltz to one of the incidents connected with the Indian massacre at Esopus in June, 1663. The reproduction of the European system of common fields, or associate ownership of land for tillage and pasture, is a curious chapter in the history of the town in America, as well as that of landholding. Evidence of the existence of the Teutonic practice of having land in common is found in the Plymouth Colony, in Salem, and in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, where certain communal laws were observed in the choice of crops, the regulation of fences, the reservation of herbage, and the employment of the lands of individuals for a common pasture in the fall of the year. These features of the old English and Continental systems were reproduced in colonial settlements with striking exactness.

Dominant characteristic of the early village. The dominant characteristic of the primitive village was probably kinship. This idea was handed down from the patriarchal stage, continued with tenacity and persistency among all Teutonic peoples down to the last century, and still prevails in many sections of Russia and India. In ages when rural life was barren, when time dragged heavily, and when communication did not exist as in our day, the village furnished the zest and the inspiration that come only from association with fellow men. In primitive village life there was inherent an element of democracy, of political representation, of religious uniformity, and of educational advantages that bespeak for it universal approbation and praise.

The modern village. In the modern village these characteristics have vanished, very much to the disadvantage, in many ways, of village life. Kinship no longer counts, as a rule, since few towns depend for their existence upon the head of one noted family. The families in the average village today are usually

not related. Political control does not reside in the oldest townsman, whose experience, wealth, and influence formerly counted for much but now for little. The churches in most country towns are so small as not to be able to function effectively, and education is the only really communal enterprise in which everyone can unite. The fields outside of town are privately owned, and are cultivated by tenants or owners. The lawyers, doctors, and dentists, with the druggist, lumber dealer, grain dealer, and small-town merchant, constitute groups instead of families as formerly. The family counts for less as an industrial, social, religious, and political unit in modern times, and the elements that cemented the members of the primitive village no longer exercise a permanent influence.

The thousands of towns which sprang up here and there in the United States before railroads were built formed centers in which our political, religious, and educational institutions first received impetus. Since the coming of the railroad small towns are found every six, seven, or eight miles in agricultural regions, where they function as trade centers for the farm people. The results of study made in Ohio of the cause of village growth are found in the following table:

CAUSES OF INCREASE IN VILLAGE POPULATION[1]

Causes	Number of Cases	Per Cent
Railroads	5	14
Retired farmers	4	11
Natural resources	5	14
Efforts of the people	4	11
Industries	14	39
Natural growth	2	5
Other causes	2	6

One reason why villages, especially in the newer sections of the country, have been slow to develop a village consciousness and to undertake comprehensive plans of improvement is probably the fact that not many of the families in these villages seriously expect to live there all their lives. They are filled with

[1] See P. L. Vogt's "Introduction to Rural Sociology," pp. 376-377.

the idea that they will move to larger towns or return to the East at the first favorable opportunity. People who feel that way about village life are not likely to go to much trouble or expense in improving it. However, as our population becomes somewhat more stabilized and socialized, better results may be expected to follow. More of the spirit of casting bread upon the waters needs to be cultivated in all our people. The individual must not expect others to be improving the place to which he ultimately hopes to go, while he is doing nothing whatsoever to improve the place where he now lives and to which others will probably have to come later. A large-minded, farsighted policy on the part of every citizen would result in a gradual but never-ceasing improvement of every city, town, and village. So long as everyone thinks in a narrow-minded and shortsighted way, he will find not only that the place where he is now living does not improve, but that the place to which he ultimately expects to go will not be improving either. If every individual would stop to think what would happen if everybody behaved as he does, or what would happen if everyone behaved in the right way, he would see the advantage of behaving in the right way and might be induced to fulfill his own obligation in that matter.

Socialization of the village. Whether society is spontaneous or natural, or whether it is more or less artificial, resulting from thought about social order, need not be settled here; but the complexity of the social order is always an interesting phenomenon. It is agreed that there are social phenomena more or less frequently recurring, and movements more or less regular, which admit of study and classification. The order in the process of society-building in the village must correspond closely to the order of socialization generally. It is the function of the rural sociologist to compass within well-defined bounds a mass of social knowledge of village life, to note the recurrence of the social phenomena, to classify this knowledge and the recurrences, showing their order and logical sequence, to discover the forces that generate and move village life, and, finally, to determine and define the laws that control it.

Inherently man is social, and there is no question as to the possibility of man's ever being unsocial. Developing individuals along lines of social ability in the life of small towns and villages in the United States is next in importance, as we have noted, to doing the same for the country. The close relation between country and town people should make the problem less difficult. Yet it must be admitted that a real task confronts the rural sociologist. The experiences of late years tend to make us feel that the effort to bring about like-mindedness between the two groups has been wasted. Upon closer examination, however, it looks as if there never was a greater opportunity to bring about a transformation in the social activities of country and town people than exists today.

Bringing village and country together. We have already considered certain phases of the socialization of rural life. It is our purpose here to show how the village may enrich its own life by bringing within its activities those of the rural people who, after all, are a part of the village. The village people must be able to show the country people that each group is dependent on the other. There are agencies in most small towns which may be called upon to assist in developing like-mindedness. One of these is the local newspaper, which should be made a most effective agency. No local agency can accomplish more in the building up of community sentiment among adults than a live, up-to-date local paper. Each local editor should acquaint himself with the principles underlying social organization, and then make these known to his subscribers. Another agency to assist in developing like-mindedness is the clubs, of which there is a great variety. Secret societies, boys' and girls' clubs, literary societies, community clubs, local-improvement clubs, baseball teams, basket-ball teams, are only a few of the many that we might name. These in themselves are sufficient to keep any community alive, provided proper leadership is available to keep them going without trespassing upon each other.

Just the mention of these agencies shows the possibility of social life and the opportunities for the development of an esprit de corps that would transform the ordinarily dead country

village into a veritable center of wholesome activities. The good results accruing from such a program of activities could never be estimated in dollars and cents. They should be measured in the satisfactions gained by those living in a community dominated by such high ideals, especially if they were all so socialized as to be able to recognize that virtues are not confined to the élite but are the common possession of all.

Village health and sanitation. The problem of health and sanitation is no less serious in the small village than in the country. The fact that the death rate is lower in the country than in the city often militates against using the dangers of infection and germ disease as weighty arguments against negligent members of a community. Furthermore, the villagers are retired farmers, and the negligence practiced while living on the farm persists when they become residents of the village. Many villages do not appreciate the value of coöperation in the improvement of health and sanitary conditions. The difficulty of enforcing the ordinary precautions against disease and pests is too well known by anyone familiar with village life to require lengthy comment.

The composition of the village population, their lack of community interest, and their general impatience of restraint prevent rigid enforcement of the local ordinances. The blame for this does not rest entirely with the guardians of the law. Equal responsibility lies with the average citizen, whose duty it is to see that laws and ordinances are punctiliously observed. The difficulty of making residents of a village realize the necessity of keeping the yards free from manure, garbage, ashes, and rubbish of every kind can be seen on every hand when passing through villages on trains or in automobiles, especially in the South and West, where village life is still undeveloped. Preventing the breeding of flies by the proper care of outbuildings, privies, chicken coops, hogpens, and barns is one of the greatest problems confronting village authorities. This is due largely to the absence of satisfactory ordinances. The universal disregard for public authority in the United States accounts for more of the general negligence than does the inherent perverseness of man as a social animal.

The inspection of meat, milk, vegetables, and fruit in stores is not rigorously observed. Often an innocent purchaser is the victim of the negligence of those who are in a position to prevent such slipshod methods. The constable and the justice of the peace often fail to act because the offender happens to be a friend, or the friend of a friend. For this situation there is no cure until the village authorities, driven by the indignation of their fellow citizens, gather courage to pass drastic measures designed to prevent further abuses.

Much of the danger occasioned by impure water has been removed by the introduction of municipally owned water systems. These are looked upon by most authorities as the most beneficial local improvement ever made. The large percentage of typhoid fever in villages in former years was due largely to the general disregard or neglect of wells, cisterns, and springs. The tremendous decrease in the death rate from typhoid fever is a direct result of improved water systems. There are cases on record in which towns have decreased the number of deaths from this disease from more than 100 to less than 2 per 100,000 a year.

The common drinking cup is still seen in stores and other places, although most village ordinances provide for sanitary drinking fountains. The uncleanly conditions generally noticeable in pool halls and dance halls, and in moving-picture houses, deserve drastic measures in order to prevent contagion from infectious diseases. The necessity of exercising care in the observance of quarantine should not be overlooked. To many people the most exasperating restraint ever exercised on their freedom is that of quarantine. It is all too common to find that a doctor who has the courage to do the right thing in a community when a contagious disease gains headway brings down on himself severe criticism.

Recreational functions of the village. A discussion of recreation and play is found in Chapter XXIII, but here a word about recreation in the village is necessary. In the main, human conduct is determined by the natural inclination of the human spirit. This expresses itself in the ways of the social order into which it is born. It is difficult to break the crust of custom,

especially if the custom is an expression of something that is inherent in human nature. People are incompletely socialized. No better medium of socialization has yet been invented than play. The play of many a small town is still tinged with a dash of frontier wildness which survives as lawlessness. Furthermore, the people of the village, since they formerly lived in the country, are still largely dominated by the countryman's point of view. Hence the necessity of rigorous control of all recreational activities in order to make young people conform to rules. Regulation is absolutely necessary.

The neglected opportunities in every town almost make one wonder if mankind has lost its wits. Go into a town and ask the adults assembled in any gathering where their boys and girls are. Experience has shown that only a small number of parents can answer this question. It has been put repeatedly to audiences at mothers' meetings, at community-club meetings, at parent-teachers' meetings, and is always met with blank expressions and never with a definite answer. The reason is simple. The struggle between traditions, the clash between temperaments, the difference in age and outlook upon life, have caused a separation of interests between youths and adults. This will continue until some agency is authorized to supervise the play of children and of youths.

How can it be done? Probably the rational method of procedure would be to formulate a body of agreements by a voluntary referendum on debatable questions. This has been tried out in a number of communities and has wrought wonderful changes. Let the consensus of opinion be discovered by an actual vote and most people will abide by it. Let the people believe that any rule of conduct has been imposed by a minority and many will rebel. When the results of the referendum are known, rules and regulations for all town activities can be formulated. Experience has shown that in most cases the different organizations will vie with one another in the effort to abide punctiliously by the vote of the village. This is surely a better procedure than the haphazard, slipshod, and random methods of local control at present in vogue in most villages.

The village is the natural unit of recreational activities. Every facility should be provided to make the people of the village and of the surrounding country feel that there is a fundamental harmony of interests which should outweigh the superficial antagonisms that sometimes develop. The cordiality which breeds genuine confidence should be cultivated by each group in order to banish suspicion and jealousy, — the quicksands upon which many a community venture has been wrecked. No program for coöperative marketing, for community improvement, for educational advancement, is likely to succeed if the community is divided into factions. One of the most common bases of factional strife is the jealousy that sometimes exists between the people of the village and those of the outlying farms. One source of this jealousy is the too frequent unwillingness of village and small-town people to admit that they are really rural and not urban people. When they imagine themselves to be city people and try to ape the airs and manners of city people, such mannerisms tend to erect a barrier of caste between them and their real neighbors, the farm folk.

It is safe to conclude that if an ideal rural life is ever developed in this country, it will be when village life and farm life again blend, — when the village is once more merely the center of the educational, religious, social, and business life of a small region, the place to which farm people of that region habitually go for all these purposes, and a place whose permanent dwellers look to the farm people around them for their support in return for the services which they can render them.

QUESTIONS

1. Take some country village and find out as nearly as you are able what proportion of its population live there because their work necessitates it, and what proportion prefer to live there, although, in so far as their work is concerned, they might live anywhere else.

2. Which, in your opinion, is the most desirable place in which to live, the open country of scattered farms, a small village, a good-sized town, or a great city? Give your reasons.

3. Which do you think would be better for your own part of the country, that every farmer should live on his farm, or that most of them should live in small villages and go out to their farms for work in the daytime, returning to the villages at night? Indicate your reasons.

4. How do you think it would work if the county sheriff, instead of receiving a salary, should receive a share of the rent of all the farms in the county, and if he should pay his assistants in the local neighborhoods not by giving them a salary but by granting them the power to collect local rents, keeping a part of what they collected and turning the rest over to him? Except for a difference of names, how would this differ from the manorial system?

5. What effect do you think the consolidated school will have on the revival of village life in America?

6. What other factors do you think are necessary in order to develop a desirable form of village life in America?

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CHAPTER XIX

THE RURAL HOME

Heredity versus environment. A subject of perennial debate is whether heredity or environment has the more influence in determining the character of the individual. That institution of social life which commonly goes under the name of "home" combines both factors, at least in that type of home which is occupied by a group consisting of parents and children, and is not a caravansary filled with various unrelated individuals. The factor of heredity is present in the relationship of parents to children. However, the home itself constitutes the first environment of the child and probably exercises more enduring influence than any other in which the child is molded. In the home, heredity and environment generally work together to produce the same general result, and seldom counteract each other. The example and teaching of the parents are a part of the child's environment. This is seldom good if the heredity is bad, or bad if the heredity is good. The combined influence of heredity and the home environment is somewhat strikingly revealed by statistics from the Elmira (New York) Reformatory, which show that 24 per cent of the inmates of the school had parents who were known to be intemperate, 28 per cent had parents of doubtful habits, and 46 per cent had parents who were temperate. Again, 13 per cent had parents who were uneducated, and 33 per cent had parents who could read and write only.[1]

Origin of parental love. "The child's first teacher is the one who first loves it." This is usually the mother. Just why a mother should love the child has always been and probably will continue to be more or less a psychological puzzle. It is well known that among all the plants and among most of the lowest

[1] Report of the Board of Managers, 1924.

forms of animal life such a thing as parental love of any kind is entirely lacking. Usually maternal love is found in the higher forms of life (where the young require care), and paternal love comes still later in the evolutionary process.

There are, however, evolutionary reasons why this strange psychological phenomenon known as parental love should have developed. In the case of human beings the period of infancy is so prolonged that the race would promptly die out — in fact, it could not survive one generation — if adults were not led to care for their children during the long period of helplessness and immaturity. Yet adults are not prone to sacrifice their interests without a reason. The most effective reason for the sacrifice of one interest is the existence of another that is stronger. For example, a person will sacrifice his desire for rest if the desire for play is stronger, or he will sacrifice his desire for both rest and play if his desire for food is strong enough to make him work. Similarly, parents will sacrifice ease and comfort in order to take care of troublesome children if their interest in them is stronger than their desire for ease and comfort. Unless such an interest can be aroused, children will perish for lack of care. Now experience shows two things in this connection: first, that others besides parents may be led to take an interest in children (this is demonstrated by the cases of foster mothers, nurses, etc.); secondly, that it is usually easier to arouse a child's parents, particularly its mother, to an interest in him than to arouse anyone else. It was convenient, at least in the earlier stages of economic development, when other infant foods were difficult to find, for the mother to nurse her own child. In the very acts of nursing and caring for it her affection developed. Apparently affection is nature's provision against the extermination of the race. The mother is provided with an interest strong enough to lead her to sacrifice other interests in favor of her own children. It is parental affection which leads parents to take the trouble necessary to care for their children until they can shift for themselves. This interest, once aroused, is likely to last beyond the period during which care is necessary, especially among creatures with long memories.

The evolution of paternal affection. Among mammals the young are more definitely dependent upon the mother during the period of infancy than upon the father. There is therefore a sufficient evolutionary reason why maternal affection should show itself earlier than paternal affection in the process of evolution. The development of paternal affection seems to come with those stages of economic development in which the activity of the male parent is either essential or at least advantageous in the production of goods for the economic support of offspring. Whenever the conditions of life are such that the help of the male parent is not necessary, the male parent seems to show no interest in his own offspring — certainly nothing that could be called paternal affection. When a stage of development is reached in which his efforts are necessary, or even advantageous, he seems to have developed such a spontaneous interest in his offspring as will lead him to labor for their sustenance and to sacrifice many other interests in favor of this one.

Just what produces this result may be difficult to state. In the absence of better reasons we can explain the process tentatively on the ground of selection. We know, to begin with, that the possibilities of variation are practically infinite, if we are dealing with a large enough number of cases for a long enough period of time. That being the case, the probability of some male being born who is so constituted psychologically that an interest in children is easily developed amounts almost to a certainty. When such a male is born into an economic situation where his help is an advantage in the bringing up of children, the selective process begins. In those families in which the male parent shows an emotional interest, or in which he is led by his emotional interest to labor for the economic sustenance and support of offspring, the offspring are better nourished and therefore develop into stronger and better individuals than the offspring of those families in which the male parent shows no interest or is unwilling to labor for their support. With the selective process thus begun, in the course of time the progeny of those males who showed this emotional interest grew and flourished, and the progeny of the males that lacked this

interest tended to disappear. Here heredity becomes a factor. The tendency of male children to resemble their fathers in this emotional interest would help to fix that type of character. The ultimate result of this is to breed a race in which paternal love is almost as general as maternal love.

The modern home, whether urban or rural, is both a shelter and a group of people. Moreover, the people of this group are bound together by ties of affection, and work together for the primary purpose of protecting and supporting the members of that group. Its evolutionary function is that of nourishing and bringing to maturity the young of the human species.

How geographical conditions affect family life. The ties of affection that bind together parents and children may be in part the product of circumstances more or less geographical, or possibly in some degree accidental. In certain tropical regions, where the need for shelter is very slight and where houses therefore are flimsy and short-lived, the family is usually a less compact organization than in the harsher regions, where the need for shelter is more definite and permanent. In other words, the durability of the shelter and the intensity of the need for it together constitute one factor in the solidarity of the home. Again, if the problem of providing food is also exceedingly simple and the place of the male parent in the home is reduced to its lowest terms, his chief function becomes that of impregnating the female. Only to a slight degree does the family depend upon him for economic support. Under such conditions paternal love is usually of an exceedingly elusive and primitive sort. The evolutionary forces of variation and selection would never produce an intense form of paternal affection in such a situation, because there would be no survival value in it. Children with improvident fathers, or children who did not even know their fathers, would have about as good a chance of survival as those with the most devoted fathers.

Where, however, there are cold winters, necessitating durable and well-constructed shelters, there is at least a common gathering place to which the members of the family must resort pretty regularly. This in itself would tend to make the family a more

compact and enduring organization. Where, in addition to the need for shelter, the production of food is a severe and elaborate process, the full productive power of the male parent is required for the sustenance of the family. Here the survival of the family depends definitely upon his emotional interest in it, or his willingness to sacrifice his other interests in order to work for it. Those families in which the male parent shows no emotional interest are less likely to survive the hard winters and to spread and multiply than are those whose male parents become the providers. There are thus evolutionary reasons that would tend to explain the breeding of a race in which paternal affection becomes hereditary.

How environment develops family life. In addition to these purely evolutionary reasons for the development of a compact and definite family there are certain environmental reasons that operate in the same direction. The durable shelters that were necessitated by cold winters usually had fireplaces in which fire was kept burning during the cold weather. Around this open fire each one felt a degree of security, comfort, and cheer that was found nowhere else. The individual came to develop a positive liking for that place. Wherever he was, he was likely to remember it with pleasurable feelings, and to desire to return to it. In his mind the feeling of security, comfort, and cheer came to be associated with the open fire. This may even develop into a kind of fire worship. Even if it does not go to that extreme, it is at least likely to develop a kind of reverence akin to that with which the average northerner regards the place called home. The word "hearth" in the English language, and *foyer* in the French, somewhat inadequately express that reverence. What is more to the point, however, is that the individuals whom one meets about this fire come to be associated with the feeling of security, comfort, and cheer until it matures into what is commonly called family affection. Thus the words "home," "hearth," "family," come to express something more than the words "shelter," "stove," and "kin." It is the opinion of some students that the so-called Christian family (though the family is much older than Christianity) can scarcely be expected to

survive many generations of hearthless homes or steam-heated flats.[1] It is not impossible, however, that other centers of comfort and cheer may take the place of the hearth as a rallying point. Even in a steam-heated flat the radio, the reading table, and the evening lamp become such a focal point. Here also there is cheer, pleasantness, conversation. This may serve to keep alive the family interest and thus to take the place of the hearth or the fire.

Another physical basis for family unity is found in the board, or dining table. In those parts of the world where food is superabundant and of such quality as not to require elaborate preparation, there is no particular reason for a family table. Under these conditions the family almost never sits together at a meal, as is customary in those parts of the world where food requires such skillful and elaborate preparation as the grinding of flour and the baking of bread. It is also a fact that family life is less compact in the former than in the latter case. This is probably more than accidental. Where there is no family board, or dining table, even such simple pieces of furniture as chairs are not in common use. The physiological family, consisting of father, mother, and children, seldom sit together at a common meal. Each eats when he is hungry and sleeps when he is sleepy.

It is a well-known fact that all people, regardless of race, religion, age, or sex, enjoy eating and drinking. The mere habit of eating together in groups, large or small, tends to develop a liking for those with whom one associates the pleasing action of eating or drinking. Even larger groups than the family come to be welded together by the common feast or banquet. Some of these deeper facts of human nature are embodied in certain religious ceremonies, such as the celebration of the Last Supper among Christians and the Feast of the Passover among Jews. We must therefore list among the factors that make for the solidarity of the modern family the common dining table and the chairs which help to make eating a social rather than a merely physiological function.

[1] See John W. Bookwalter's "Rural versus Urban." Knickerbocker Press, 1911.

Environment and rural family life. The common reading lamp is of course as valuable in a steam-heated flat as in a rural cottage. So far as this one factor is concerned, rural life furnishes no opportunity greater than those furnished by urban life for the development of family living and affection. The fireplace, even when inclosed in metal and called a stove, is more common in rural than in urban homes. This provides a factor in the preservation of family solidarity in the rural home that is gradually being eliminated from the urban home. Again, the custom of dining together as a group rather than separately as individuals is also more generally preserved in rural than in urban life. It is the general rule that all working persons of the rural household are engaged in the same occupation, and in fact together promote a common enterprise. It is therefore a matter of convenience and economy for them to eat together at the same time. This alone explains the observed fact that members of the typical rural household actually eat together at least three times a day. In the urban household these reasons do not exist to the same degree, and therefore the practice is disappearing. Being engaged in different occupations, not having to go to work at the same hour in the morning, there is no particular reason why they should eat breakfast at the same time; accordingly it is becoming increasingly common for each individual to eat his breakfast alone. During the day the different members of the family are so widely separated that it would be inconvenient for them to meet for the midday meal; therefore each takes his lunch wherever he happens to be. If they come together at all for a common meal, it is almost necessarily the evening meal. Even this is abandoned in some of the ultramodern homes. Under these conditions it is difficult to find any reason, aside from the fresh momentum of rural customs, why family affection should survive many generations of urban life.

Evolutionary factors and the rural home. Even though all environmental factors in the creation of family affection and solidarity should disappear, the evolutionary factors would still be at work. Those who succumb to the ultramodern city life will tend to become extinct. The population of the city must be

renewed eventually, if it is renewed at all, from those homes in which domestic affection still survives. This again means that cities must be continually repeopled from the country. It means that they must be repeopled from those elements in each generation that find an adequate interest in family-building. Even at the present time it is noticeable that rural districts are less infested than urban districts by a certain type of old unmarried man who manages to get in everybody's way, who objects to children in apartment houses and would, if he existed in the country, interfere with the normal development of rural life as he does with city life. Nor does one find in rural districts so many of those worried faces that we have come to associate with childless women who try to mother everything in sight.

Division of labor in the home. The modern home implies a certain fundamental division of labor. The larger hands and feet, the heavier limbs, the longer shin bones, and the more active fighting temper of the man fit him for certain kinds of work that are unsuited to the rounder body, shorter limbs, and smaller hands and feet of the woman. On the basis of these physical differences a natural and obvious division of labor develops automatically in every successful tribe, at least in the earlier stages of development. Even in modern rural life the distinction is fairly sharp. The heavier muscular tasks of farm work, as well as hunting wild game and slaughtering domestic animals, are obviously suited to the muscularity and aggressive fighting temper of the man. Certain other kinds of work require less muscularity and less fighting temper but more fortitude and greater power to endure fatigue; hence they are obviously suited to the less muscular but more patient woman. On the farm there would never be much discussion as to which kind of work was more suitable for the man and which for the woman.

In urban life, however, the distinction is by no means so clearly drawn. There are, of course, certain occupations, such as the building trades, requiring chiefly high muscularity, for which women are as unsuited as they would be for most forms of rural work. But aside from these there is no urban work for which men can be said to be better fitted than women. At least

there is room for infinite discussion as to what kind of work is suited for women and what is suited for men. It would be difficult to name a single office job which women cannot do exactly as well as men if they are trained to it and devote their time to it. It would be impossible to give any convincing reason, except to men, why women should do housework and men office work rather than that men should do housework and women office work. In discussions of this question, always of course excepting certain building trades and mechanical operations where high muscularity is required, there is only one real and natural division of function left. That is in the field of reproduction. Obviously this difference must continue so long as the human race survives. Any kind of work that would suffer materially if interrupted by the functions of motherhood is obviously unsuited to married women, even though, aside from this interference, the woman could do the work as well as the man. However, there are a good many kinds of urban work in which a high labor turnover is taken almost as a matter of course, and in which, therefore, those interruptions incident to child-bearing would be no serious handicap. Such work is apparently as suitable for married women as for married men, assuming always that the woman's muscular development is sufficient. In the case of unmarried women even this condition is unnecessary.

Problem of reproduction and the division of labor. So far as the mere matter of furnishing income is concerned, aside from the questions of physical fitness or disqualification, there is no particular reason why the woman should not be the provider as well as the man. In a majority of urban occupations, especially office jobs, a woman is fully as able as a man to earn an income, and there is no reason, aside from the necessities of the reproductive process, why women should not be the breadwinners as well as the bread-makers. The whole problem of urban division of labor, therefore, focuses finally on the importance that is given to the problem of reproduction. Eliminate that from consideration, and no one is able to distinguish between woman's work and man's work in a typical modern city. But it is a problem that will not be eliminated. Those individuals or those elements

in our urban population that succeed in eliminating this consideration from their lives are themselves eliminated, because of their failure to reproduce. Only those who allow this consideration to determine their careers will leave any progeny for the peopling of the earth. The very process of variation and selection will prevent the elimination of the distinction between man's work and woman's work, even though the environmental factors no longer lend support to that distinction.

However, it still remains true that in rural life the environmental factors as well as the selective factors keep alive the distinction between man's work and woman's work. In spite of the introduction of farm machinery and labor-saving devices the outdoor work of the farm seems to call for a higher degree of muscularity and physical courage than the indoor work of the household. This will be the case as long as farm animals are kept and cared for, for the old males of certain kinds invariably develop vicious dispositions. The fighting temper of the men will be required for this work, since women are constitutionally unfitted for it. It must be admitted, however, that with the growth of agricultural machinery an increasing number of outdoor operations can be performed by women, and there is more likelihood, therefore, that the sharpness of the differentiation between man's work and woman's work, even in the country, will be somewhat softened in the future. That distinction can never be entirely obliterated, however.

Effect of rural life on urban homes. It is probably the momentum of rural customs that have been brought to the cities by recent arrivals that explains why, even in urban life, there is still a more or less subconscious feeling that woman's work is in the home and man's work outside. Inasmuch as most people who live in the city either came from the country or are the children or grandchildren of those who came from the country, rural life still dominates city life. Were it not for this constant renewal from rural sources, it is highly probable that the sentimental aspects of the urban home would change even more rapidly than they are now changing. So long as the cities continue to draw so many of their people from the country, rural

ideals and traditions will continue to prevail. However, there is a recession even here. The first generation out of the bondage of hard labor is very likely to advertise its new freedom by extreme license; at least some individuals will react in that way. Just as a good many individuals who have recently emerged from the Ghetto not only throw off the restraints of Judaism but run to excess in advertising their emancipation, so a certain number of those who have recently come from the country to the city try to break rather violently away from their rural habits and traditions by assuming an exaggerated urbanity that is unlike anything that could normally develop in any urban environment. Even their mental reactions resemble in certain fundamental particulars the clothes and manners of the recently emancipated countryman.

One of the principal differences between rural life and industry on the one hand and urban life and industry on the other is that the rural home is an integral part of the rural industry, but the city home and the city business are almost invariably separate. This helps to explain why rural sociology is much more closely related to rural economics than urban sociology is to urban economics. One could scarcely discuss the business of farming without considering the productive activities that are carried on inside the home. It would sound strange for one who was discussing any urban business to take the trouble even to refer to the economic activities carried on in urban homes. No treatise on manufacturing, banking, or merchandising contains a chapter on the household activities in the homes of the manufacturers, bankers, or merchants. A discussion of technical agriculture might well omit any allusion to the economic activities inside the farm home, but a treatise on rural economics would be incomplete if it did not give considerable attention to this subject.

Farming still a domestic industry. The farm in any country, and especially in the United States, is, in part at least, a domestic industry. Practically every other industry has passed out of the domestic stage, although there are small shops and stores here and there that are still run as family enterprises and

in close conjunction with the home. It is true, of course, that many of the activities of the farm home do not actually bring in cash income. This does not mean, however, that they are not strictly economic activities, for they either save money or bring in some other kind of income. Economists have been in the habit of distinguishing between income and real income. The household activities of the farm family make their contributions to real income.

In a survey of farm women's activities conducted by *The Farmer's Wife*,[1] a weekly paper published in St. Paul, Minnesota, through a questionnaire sent to 7000 women something was learned of the economic place of women in the farm home. Eighty-five per cent of those who answered showed clearly that economic intelligence of a high order is required for the ever-recurring task of planning meals. The following quotations are typical of thousands of others:

I find that the planning of meals in the right way saves a lot of time.

Left-overs often make a quick meal possible when properly preserved.

My ice-box is my maid.

The fireless cooker has practically eliminated all waste in our home.

We can come and go as we please and have a warm meal in very short order.

The oil stove means more to me than the sewing machine meant to my mother and grandmother.

Eighty-five per cent also spoke definitely of food preservation. In some form the women preserved a part of practically everything raised on the farm, especially products that would otherwise have gone to waste, as indicated by these quotations from the letters: "195 glasses of apple jelly," "84 quarts of string beans," "10 gallons of apple cider," "20 cans of chicken," "70 quarts of strawberries." One letter read as follows:

Last Sunday afternoon fifteen uninvited friends dropped in on us, and of course they were welcome. We had a light supper, and it required no unusual tasks, because our shelves are filled with all

[1] G. A. Lundquist, "What Farm Women are Thinking," *Special Bulletin No. 71* (May, 1923), Agricultural Extension Division, University Farm, St. Paul, Minnesota.

sorts of goodies that everybody loves. But if all these friends had dropped in on my sister, who lives in a large city, she would have dropped dead, because she would have had nothing to give them. Of course any other day except Sunday the corner store would have been open and supplied needs.

The progress made in the last few years in food preservation has been phenomenal, and a great deal more may be expected as the result of the varied training received in the boys' and girls' clubs. Food conservation probably has never before been brought so methodically before the American people. When the farmer was producing a surplus of food products, finding it difficult to sell anything except staple crops, there was no economic reason why his wife should try to conserve the surplus. Now that everything will sell for cash, food conservation is a real business activity.

Outdoor work for farm women. Only half of 1 per cent of the answers received from the questionnaire indicated that farm women worked in the field. The number does not seem large when one considers the general complaint of hard times, and is evidence of a fairly high standard of living. An American cannot travel through the rural districts of any of the old countries without being impressed by this difference between that country and ours. Whether our higher standard is rational or merely accidental may still be somewhat open to question. It cannot be seriously disputed, however, that if the farm woman occupies herself intelligently inside the farmhouse, she can provide many of the comforts and decencies of life that would be impossible if she worked in the field. Every meal can be made a social function, with white napery, attractive dishes, and some attempt at decoration. But if her energy were used in outdoor work, eating a meal would tend to become merely the physiological function of feeding. The beautification of the inside of the farmhouse calls for the expenditure of considerable energy, both mental and physical, and therefore becomes impossible if the woman uses her strength in outdoor work. Even the clothing problem of the family will be affected by this circumstance, and clothes will come to answer merely the needs of decency and warmth with no additional idea of adornment and self-expression.

Many of the answers to the questionnaire show a genuine pride on the part of farm women in beautifying farm life. In fact, the answers indicate that neither meals nor food preservation nor clothing, but home beautification, ranks first in the thoughts of the farm women. More letters contain statements about decorating the country homes than about any of the other items just mentioned. A large proportion of the letters show some enthusiasm over the pleasure taken in arranging pictures, furniture, and rugs so as to bring out the best effects. The curtains, the hardwood floors, the flower gardens, shrubs, and trees come in for their share of attention. "All these things bring to us farmers a satisfaction which no one appreciates fully unless country-born," said one letter.

It is probably apparent to anyone that the interest shown in these adornments and embellishments of rural life is logically connected with the fact that only half of 1 per cent of the women who answered these letters admitted that they were ever called upon to work in the fields. There is another side to this problem, however, especially in the case of individual families that have several husky daughters and no sons old enough to help with the field work. In such a family there is no good reason why some of the daughters should not help in field work, especially now that labor-saving mechanical devices have lightened the work in certain particulars. If the high standard of living has resulted in making farm girls feel that it is more or less discreditable to work in the fields, the result will be unfortunate.

There are, however, so many income-producing activities that may be carried on either in the farmhouse or in the garden and the poultry yard, that it is possible for surplus family energy to be used productively and profitably without going far into the open fields except in those cases where, as suggested above, there are several athletic girls in the family.

Women as earners on the farm. Eighty-one per cent of the women who answered the questionnaire were actually contributing to the family income through the sale of poultry products. While, in a sense, this is outdoor work, it requires neither great muscularity nor great physical courage. Some women take a

genuine pride in this sort of work and in their ability to contribute to the family income, as is shown by the following quotations:

We have to have pin money; I never ask my husband for pin money; last year $300 were realized from eggs alone.

When we were married five years ago it was distinctly understood that I was to have all the income from the eggs if I took care of the chickens, and as the result my husband hardly knows there is such a thing as a grocery bill, or that he has a wife and baby to dress.

The garden as an accessory of the farm home is another source of income not always given the care and attention it deserves. Sixty per cent of those who answered the inquiry mentioned the value of garden products, and many said that the garden was an actual necessity. Fifty per cent spoke of the fruit orchard and stated that apples, plums, and peaches added to the variety and pleasure of the family diet.

The fact is that the real income of farm women is not far below that of the farmers themselves. A farmer with a head for facts and also with a sense of humor (if these two are really ever found in combination) would scarcely be able to keep his face straight and say that he supported his wife and children. He needs a wife in his business quite as acutely as she needs a husband in hers. A farmer without a wife would be under such a serious handicap, even in the conduct of his business, as to make him poor compared with other farmers who are in possession of this highly productive as well as highly delectable article. In short, the boarding house is not a rural institution.

Coming to some of the more humdrum and less idealistic, although highly important, tasks, a survey of farm women's activities made by the Department of Agriculture[1] gave these facts:

88 per cent of the farm women wash milk pails.
36 per cent help with the milking.
81 per cent keep poultry.
60 per cent make butter.
33 per cent sell butter.

[1] Florence E. Ward, The Farm Woman's Problems, *Circular No. 148* (November, 1920), United States Department of Agriculture.

94 per cent make bread for their husbands and children.
75 per cent care for kerosene lamps.
61 per cent carry water on the average of 250,000 steps a year.
96 per cent do the family washing.
29 per cent keep butter records.
30 per cent keep home accounts.
32 per cent keep the farm accounts.
45 per cent keep records of egg money.

In addition to this the average farm wife cares for 7.8 rooms and 1.29 stoves, and 0.6 of an hour a day is spent in mending clothes. The farmer who had to hire all this work done would find that it took a very productive farm to carry such a heavy item of expense.

All these facts help to illustrate the point made above, that the home and the farm go together, and that the relation between the farmer and his wife is that of a working partnership. The farmer does not keep a wife any more than the wife keeps him. She is an asset rather than a liability.

The significance of the rural home. As this chapter has endeavored to show, a special significance attaches to the rural home. The members of it habitually spend more time in the home in contact with one another, and less outside in contact with other people, than is the case with members of an urban family. Again, the rural family commonly eat their meals together three times a day and not in various places outside the home, as is frequently the case in urban households. Family traits and characteristics are therefore usually more pronounced in rural than in urban communities. This, added to the economic unity of the farm household, in which all are contributors to the real income of the family, makes for an element of national strength that is seldom properly estimated.

QUESTIONS

1. What effect do you think the long period of infancy in the human species has had upon the development of social institutions? Suppose one child reached maturity and was able to shift for itself before another child could be born? Would there be the same reasons as now exist for a permanent family life?

2. What effect do you think a fireplace had on the development of family life in northern latitudes?

3. What effect do you think a common dining table and the invention of chairs have had on family life?

4. Is it an accident, is it the tyranny of man, or is there some sounder reason for the division of labor in the rural home which makes the woman do the housework and permits the man to do the field work?

5. There seem to be fewer divorces in the country than in the city, and there are other evidences to show that the rural home is a little more stable than the city home. Can you give any reasons for this?

6. In all old civilizations the elegancies and graces of life were limited to a few who were able to shift the drudgery onto slaves or cheap laborers. Now that slavery is abolished and there are no longer any cheap laborers on our farms, how can farm women ever cultivate the elegancies and graces of life?

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CHAPTER XX

RELIGION AND RURAL LIFE

Religion an important factor in social life. In discussing the problem of religion as a factor in social life it is not necessary to define religion. Those phases of religion that have had a positive influence on country life in America can be included in the general name "Christian." Judaism has, of course, penetrated wherever the Jewish people have become farmers, but as yet Jewish farmers exist only in small numbers. Various Oriental religions have penetrated wherever Chinese, Japanese, or other Oriental farmers have spread, but as yet they have had little influence on rural life in America. In spite of the Christianity of the American negroes it is claimed by students of folklore that there are many elements of African folklore and also of African religion mingled with their religious observances. For that matter, even the white Christians of America and of western Europe have embodied in their religious ceremonies and rites many of the elements of the ancient pagan religions. However, for the purpose of the present discussion we may confine ourselves to the Christian religion in its multifarious phases. This will, of course, include the Mormon religion, which is officially designated as the "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints."

In its early origin Christianity was distinctly urban rather than rural. It spread through the cities of the Roman Empire first, and somewhat slowly penetrated to the rural districts. In fact, the rural districts were so slow in becoming Christianized that countryman and non-Christian were for many years considered identical. The word "heathen," an English word, really meant men who lived in the rural districts or the back country. They were the heathmen. The word "pagan" is an Italian word meaning much the same thing. It comes from the word

pagus, meaning an open field. Men from the open fields, the pagans, were for so many years non-Christians that the word "pagan" came to mean a non-Christian rather than a man from the fields.

The historic contribution of the rural church. The cities were the first to accept Christianity, and there are some indications that they will be the first to abandon it. If the city churches were not fed by an influx of Christians from the small towns and the country districts, many of them would find difficulty in maintaining an existence. In the preceding chapter it was shown that the modern home, in its somewhat well-established and historic sense, is a rural rather than an urban institution, and that it persists in urban life partly because of the influx of rural people who bring with them the customs and traditions of their rural environment. Even during the first two and a half centuries of the life of the European race on this continent Christianity made a larger contribution to rural than to urban life, thus apparently reversing the tendency that prevailed in the early years of the spread of Christianity through Europe. It was the country church in rural communities that made this a Christian country (if in reality it can be called a Christian country).

The chief task of the American people during the first two and a half centuries of their life on this continent was the physical conquest of the continent itself. Nothing else achieved by our race in this country compares in magnitude and importance with that primitive achievement of bringing a continent under subjection. In every other field of endeavor, with the possible exception of the breeding of the trotting horse and the baking of the johnnycake, we are probably a little behind European nations. The pioneer settler was the cutting edge of the great forces that were at work in this conquest. Whatever influenced him most, influenced our civilization most. Whatever inspirited and sustained the pioneer farmer in his stupendous job may be said with a good deal of literalness to have been a determining factor in our civilization.

Influence of the rural church on the pioneer. Among the inspiriting and sustaining forces at work on the pioneer was his

religion. The country church was the organized expression of that religion. Here, once a week, he gathered with his fellows to renew his spiritual strength, to gather momentum for the heroic tasks of the following six days. Here the country preacher, crude and illiterate as he often was, thundered into the ears of his listeners those primitive and elemental moral ideas which the pioneer needed in order to fortify himself against the primitive and elemental temptations that assailed him.

"The soul that sinneth, it shall die" is a bold proposition that needs many refinements and qualifications to fit it into the evolutionary philosophy of the day as applied to the complex life of modern times, but when properly interpreted and qualified it is an essential part of the philosophy of social evolution. The issue of survival or extinction is sharply drawn. It turns upon conformity to or departure from the conditions imposed by the universe. Certain elementary rules have been "already voted upon by the ancient elemental powers." Unless this basic truth is dinned into the ears of those who are face to face with formidable and well-nigh impossible tasks, they are likely to relax their efforts or to turn aside into bypaths that seem more alluring or less arduous than the strait and narrow path that leads to survival. The building of a great society is conditioned upon the existence of some power in the lives of men that will lead them by straight roads when their limited intelligence and prevision cannot formulate a satisfactory reason why they should continue and not turn aside. Whatever a highly sophisticated and superficial civilization may say or think about the crude and primitive teachings of the rural church, one great fact stands out, namely, that those people who were on the firing line of civilization, who bore the hardships of pioneer life, were by some means kept true to their purpose and enabled to achieve where others had failed. Latitudinarianism is not the philosophy for the soldier on the firing line while the battle is on. In the absence of despotic authority nothing but a stern and unrelenting sense of duty will serve him.

In harmony with this principle — in fact, as might have been predicted on the basis of this principle — those religious

organizations that most successfully ministered to the needs of country people in pioneer communities experienced the largest real growth. Others may have grown by immigration, but those that showed the greatest growth from the raw materials furnished by our own population were those that organized themselves primarily for the purpose of supplying what the pioneer farmer needed. The churches that were on the spot almost with the arrival of the first settler grew by leaps and bounds as long as they continued to supply the genuine needs of the people who were doing the really constructive work of the country.

The church as a help in conquering poverty. It is a familiar fact that Christianity began among the poor rather than among the rich. Throughout the greater part of its history it has ministered to the needs of the poor and unfortunate, and to all those who were faced by the temptations that came with misfortune and hardship. It met their needs in a virile and constructive way. It was positive in its commands and in its encouragement. It did not excuse dereliction on the ground of misfortune. Instead of saying to the unfortunate "You can't," it said "You can"; instead of making excuses it issued stern commands; instead of being a cult of incompetence and self-pity it became a cult of competence and self-criticism. Neither poverty nor any other form of misfortune was accepted as a sufficient excuse for evil-doing. Men were told pointedly that they could live decent lives in spite of hardship; therefore they must. Wherever this positive influence was felt it not only fortified people against the temptations and demoralizing influences of poverty and hardship; it enabled them to conquer such conditions — to rise above them. This has been true not only of the primitive Christian Church but of practically every branch of the church that has made a place for itself in the world. They all began among the poor and have brought their people up out of poverty. They began among the ignorant and unlearned and brought their people up into a state of intelligence and education. They began among those who were held in low esteem and brought them up into a condition in which they were held in high esteem.

The church in an era of prosperity. Christianity in its purer form has never failed to achieve this result. Having achieved this result, however, it is now faced with new problems. Its people, having been brought out of poverty into prosperity, are now confronted with the temptations and demoralizing influences of prosperity. Having brought them out of ignorance into intelligence, the church is losing its hold upon them. Having taken people that were held in low esteem and brought them up to a position of honor and respect, it has left them in positions where pride and social prestige may play havoc with them. The people need but do not find a discipline that will protect them against these new dangers, as the old discipline protected them against the dangers of poverty, ignorance, and degradation. Unless the Christian Church can supply this new discipline it will be useless when all the people become prosperous, intelligent, and respectable. Having no other function to perform, it will die out as inevitably as any other agency dies when its day of usefulness is passed.

Of what use is the rural church — or any church, for that matter — to prosperous people who are no longer faced with the peculiar temptations of poverty? Of what use is the church to respectable people who no longer need it to give them a moral brace and teach them self-respect? Unless these questions can be answered, the sociologist need show no further interest in the rural church in a period when country people are all intelligent, prosperous, and respectable. It will no longer be a factor in the determination of the type of rural life — certainly not a positive factor in the building up of a better rural life.

Repression versus freedom in religion. Among the poor to whom the church has ministered, the primitive economic virtues of industry, sobriety, and self-denial had to be preached if the people were ever to be saved from their poverty. This doubtless seemed a repressive religion to some. It demanded that people work when they wanted to play, keep sober when they wanted to get drunk, practice self-denial when they craved self-gratification or self-expression. Even though these teachings seemed repressive, they were the only ways out of the diffi-

culties of poverty, ignorance, and degradation. Consequently repressiveness came to be almost the dominant attitude of Christianity in its more primitive stages of development, and particularly in the rural life of the American frontier. Some people doubtless misinterpreted religion to be identical with repressiveness, and probably drew the conclusion that whatever was pleasant and agreeable must be bad, and that nothing could be really good unless it was disagreeable and unpleasant. This theory of religion resembles the ancient theory of medicine that anything that tasted good was bad for you, or that nothing was really good for you unless it had a disagreeable taste. The present tendency is to tell us that in general the things that taste good are better for us than the things that taste disagreeable. Ultramodern interpreters of religion are making the same revelation to us. They are telling us that the things that are pleasant and agreeable are probably better for us than the things that are unpleasant and disagreeable. Accordingly, those churches that are trying to achieve popularity in the present day are taking pains to give people a good time rather than a disagreeable time, to inspire and encourage joy rather than lugubriousness, to make people glad they are alive instead of sorry for their sins, to make people anxious to remain alive rather than anxious to go to heaven, to make the world a good place rather than to cultivate the belief that the world is and always must be an evil place.

This changed point of view has predestined some changes in policy. We sometimes speak of the church as a social center, which usually means that the church is a place where people go for a good time. The term "social center" has a highly technical meaning and not a purely impressionistic one.

The church an important factor in rural social life. Two facts, and two facts alone, are necessary to create a social life. They are, first, physical juxtaposition and, secondly, a common interest. People may be in the same room, within the sound of one another's voices and where they can look into one another's eyes — that is, in close physical juxtaposition — and still have no social life if they lack a common interest. However, there

cannot possibly be a social life without physical juxtaposition. People must be within the sound of one another's voices, or be able to look into one another's eyes and note the changing expressions on one another's faces. In other words, no matter how much of a common interest people have, unless they can get together in some way at the same place there can be no social life. Where both facts are present — that is, where people are together in the same place and also have a common interest — social life automatically exists.

The country church may fulfill either one of these conditions and yet not be a social center. If it can fulfill both conditions it is at once a social center. To bring people together in the church building or in an assembly room does not make a social center. A common interest must be provided. If the people are so intensely interested in their religion or even their theology that they want to talk about it or sing about it, then when they get together there is social life. There will be plenty of conversation; there will even be singing. When college students get together in the same room on the eve of a football game they have the two essentials. There is physical juxtaposition and there is a common interest. It would be difficult to keep them from talking about the game, perhaps from singing and even shouting and making other demonstrations of their common interest. If people cared as much for their religion as students do for a football game, every time they got together there would be a good deal of enthusiasm. It would be as natural in one case as in the other,— if they cared as much.

If they do not care for their religion or their theology, of course they will not want to talk about it, much less to sing about it. Some other common interest must be found. Everybody, unless he has a bad case of dyspepsia, likes to eat and drink. When a large number of people are together around a common table spread with good things to eat and drink, they at once have a common interest, whether they have time to talk or not. As observed before, the germ of a social life exists in this most primitive of all interests, that of eating and drinking. It is perhaps within the bounds of accuracy to say that this

is the really scientific basis of the Lord's Supper as practiced by many churches. It is a means of supplying the most primitive and universal of all common interests. From this as a beginning other interests may develop, and thus a rich and varied social life may be evolved. The communion table is probably the most primitive of all social centers. It is possible at least that the chicken dinner, the oyster supper, and other special variations of the habit of eating a meal together may be modern adaptations of the feast of the Passover and the Lord's Supper.

Church interests often the basis of social groups. Not only is the possession of a common interest one of the bases of all social life, but a common interest is the basis of class distinctions. One group of people is primarily interested in one thing, another group in something else. They tend to group themselves on the basis of their chief interests. If one group is primarily interested in its religion, all who feel that interest group themselves together regardless of differences of riches, learning, or social prestige. If another group is primarily interested in golf, it gets together on the basis of that interest regardless of differences of religion, wealth, or social prestige. If still another group is primarily interested in the consumption of wealth, it comes together on this basis regardless of differences of religion, of education, of social prestige. Where members of the same church care more for their wealth than for their religion, common membership in the same church is not considered a sufficient reason for their associating together. They split on the basis of differences of wealth. When the members of different churches belong to the same social set, it is because they find a common interest in something other than their religion. If they cared more for their religion than they do for their wealth, you would find that they associated on the basis of religion as naturally as members of different churches associate now on the basis of equality of wealth.

Country people are no exception to this general tendency for like to seek like. When country people care more for their prosperity than for anything else, then it is natural for a few of the more prosperous families to associate together even

though they belong to different religions, have different degrees of education, or differ in other respects. When they care more for their church than for their wealth, members of the same church will associate together even though they differ very widely in wealth and culture. One of the symptoms that the country church is losing its hold upon its people is the tendency of rural society to split up on the basis of wealth, prosperity, respectability, or something other than church membership. Regrettable though it may be, church membership is not often a basis of social life. The reason seems to be that country people are getting to care more for other things than for the church, and therefore to care more for the society of those who are interested in these other things than for the society of those who profess the same religion or belong to the same church.

Some of the minor services of the rural church. A number of minor and more or less perfunctory duties of the country church may be taken as a matter of course. The church at least furnishes a meeting place where people can get together once a week and exchange ideas about crops, weather, and other subjects of perennial interest to rural people. Incidentally, of course, the church will be the center of a certain kind of culture. Church music, even though it consists in nothing more than singing in unison a few of the classic hymns of the church, is a genuine source of culture.

Social service always the aim of the church. Social service is sometimes imagined to be something new in church activity. Such an opinion will not bear a moment's analysis or even a moment's intelligent thought. The idea as to what social service is may change from time to time, but there has never been a time in the history of the church when social service was not its real aim and purpose. When people believed, and were sincere in their belief, that the greatest calamity that could possibly happen to a person was not ignorance or sickness, or even death, but dying unregenerate and going to eternal torment, when sickness was spoken of as a light affliction lasting but for a moment in comparison with an eternity in hell, very naturally any agency working for the welfare of

mankind would be more concerned over the danger of future damnation than over the danger of present sickness. When people believed such things (as they actually did believe them), there could not be much difference of opinion among them as to what was the most important thing for the church to do; if they thought sickness was trivial in comparison with damnation, they would naturally think that salvation was vastly more important than health. The chief concern of the church, therefore, was naturally to bring salvation rather than health to the largest possible number.

When, however, ideas changed as to what was really important, when we began to think that health was more important than future salvation, or sickness a greater calamity than future damnation, very naturally the direction of activities changed accordingly. We may flatter ourselves by saying that we are now more interested in social service than our ancestors were. That is mere self-deception. What we should say is that our ideas as to what is important are different from those of our ancestors. They were quite as anxious to do what they considered important as any modern church is to do what it considers important. They were quite as definitely engaged in what they considered social service as the most "advanced" church is today in doing what it considers social service. The probability is that this generation has merely lost its belief in future salvation and damnation. It would be just as intelligent to say that because our ideas of medicine have changed, we are therefore more anxious about the health of the people than our ancestors were when they bled, blistered, or otherwise maltreated the sick. There is every reason to think that our ancestors were quite as anxious about health as we are, but they valued salvation more. Their ideas, however, as to how health could be promoted were less enlightened than ours.

Our ancestors were likewise fully as anxious to do social service as we are. Our ideas as to what social service really is may or may not be more enlightened than theirs. Some rearrangements of the church's plan must logically follow this change of ideas as to what is really important. When future salvation was

considered the most important thing, the mourner's bench, the font, the altar, or some other piece of religious paraphernalia was a necessary agency of social service. Now that ideas have changed, the ice box, the cooking range, the picnic ground, and the dancing-floor have become part of the equipment for social service.

The relation of the church to the coöperative movement. No one can study the coöperative movement in Ireland, Denmark, Germany, Belgium, Holland, and other European countries without being impressed with the part which the country church, the country parson, and the country priest have played in that movement. In a Protestant community it is frequently the minister, in a Catholic community the priest, who is president of the local coöperative society. The secretary is probably the local country school-teacher. This, however, may be due to the fact that these are the best-educated persons in the community, who know best how to conduct public meetings and keep written records of the proceedings. With our system of universal education there is not the same reason that these persons should perform this particular function. In almost any community today there are farmers who know how to conduct a public meeting. However, the function of the rural church in the coöperative movement is not confined to that of merely supplying a presiding officer in the form of priest or minister, and a recording secretary in the person of one who can write. Unless the spirit of coöperation is present in the community, actual business coöperation is exceedingly difficult to organize and keep alive.

The chief function of the church. When all is said, it is probably true that in nation-building the chief function of any religious organization is to create an emotional interest in the right things. By the right things are meant the things that promote the largest possible life of the nation.

The largest life of the nation may be hard to define. It doubtless includes many intangible and imponderable things. It includes also some things that are capable of measurement and numerical statement. Among other things it probably means

that the largest possible number of people should live, and live in the best possible way. The census can enumerate and tabulate the groups of people that live under the protection of the nation. An inventory could also be made of the things which the people have and enjoy. Even their standard of living can be described. Thus we have at least two measurable factors in the larger life of the nation. Whatever else may be achieved, at least these two things must accompany every great accomplishment in nation-building. Large numbers of people must be enabled to live, and live well. When every citizen is interested in those things that make it possible for the largest number to live in the best possible way, we are warranted in saying that the average individual is interested in the best things. The religious organization that creates an emotional interest in the best things, as thus defined, is the best possible religious organization. It is the religious organization that contributes the maximum to the larger life of the nation, or to the world if it is a world religion.

The coöperative movement, where it has a sane development, as in Denmark, Ireland, and many other parts of the Old World, has been a positive factor in the larger life of the nation. The religious organization that creates the coöperative spirit among the people and gives them an emotional interest in the ideals of coöperation is an important factor in making coöperation possible. The religious organization that still conceives of its service to humanity as being primarily that of saving individuals from future damnation is not likely to make such a contribution as this. When its idea of service to humanity changes to that of promoting the largest possible national life, social service in the modern sense comes into existence.

When the country church begins to see that its duty is to save people from poverty in this world, from ignorance of the laws of health, economics, and physical science, and from distraction and other forms of dissipation, it will become a positive factor in nation-building. Its function, of course, is not actually to carry on industry or administer government, but, as suggested above, to create emotional interest in the right things. Emo-

tional interest in the right things makes coöperation easy and natural; emotional interest in the wrong things makes it difficult and apparently unnatural.

The country church in the United States, as suggested above, is not charged with the duty of supplying administrative officers for coöperative societies, since the farmers themselves can supply them. It is charged solely with the duty of creating the right attitudes, or emotional interests in the right things. Probably, in the long run, it is more important that people should want the right things than that they should acquire the greatest possible efficiency in supplying their desires for the wrong things. In fact, one might go so far as to say that if people happen to want the wrong things, the more efficiently they produce them the worse off they will be.

Limits of coöperation. While it is undoubtedly true that it would be to the advantage of rural America if there were more of the coöperative spirit among the rural people, one cannot assume that coöperation is always and everywhere good, and competition always and everywhere bad. There are definite limits to the possibilities of beneficent coöperation, as there are to the possibilities of beneficent competition. Competition, when it takes the form of rivalry in the performance of service, — that is, in the production of desirable ends, — is undoubtedly beneficent. The more rivalry we can introduce into strictly productive work, the more good things we shall be able to produce, and the better supplied the world will be with good things. But when competition takes the form of rivalry in display, ostentation, or exhibition of mere prowess, it has little to commend it. Moreover, when it takes the form merely of hard bargaining, competition becomes frequently more destructive than productive.

A man who was particularly fond of hearing himself talk recently made an argument in favor of the universal substitution of coöperation for competition, and tried to clinch his argument by using the illustration of a football game, saying that he believed that more goals could be made if the two teams would coöperate than if they would compete. He did not seem able to

understand that there are different ways of competing. The probabilities are that many more goals could be made if a prize were to be won for every touchdown, and twenty-two men should compete among themselves for these prizes, than if they should coöperate, provided the competition is made to resemble business competition, that is, if all interference is eliminated. If agricultural competition took a destructive form, or if each farmer tried to prevent his neighbors from growing good crops, agricultural competition would certainly not be very productive; but if each competing farmer confined his operations to his own farm and did not interfere with anyone else, large production would result. Similarly, if each of the twenty-two men were given a football and warned not to interfere with any other play but to see how many touchdowns he could make, the writer would guarantee that vastly more touchdowns could be made under competition than under coöperation. It is only when competition takes the form of interference that it is really bad. Where it has developed into that form, we have a definite opportunity for coöperation; beyond that, coöperation has seldom succeeded.

A peculiar perversion of the religious function is that which attempts to create an emotional abhorrence of competition as such, regardless of the form it takes or how it works. Competitive production is really rivalry in the performance of service. The rivalry, however, is stimulated and made intense by the principle of self-interest. A proper system of social control so harnesses this principle of self-interest to competitive production as to get the maximum of service from the competitors, — more than could probably be had from philanthropic motives alone. Under a sound system of social control it is easier for a self-interested person to promote his self-interest by doing good than by doing harm; by offering people what they desire than by threatening them with what they dislike; by rendering service in return for its legitimate rewards than by rendering disservice and by extorting gains through an appeal to fear. Where a sound system of social control prevails, the average person of reasonable intelligence finds it to his advantage to do

good in return for the good that someone else does for him. Such a system of social control is one of the great achievements of the human mind. To use the language of the Reverend Walter Henry MacPherson, "The preacher who can't see God in present-day economic life will never see Him."

QUESTIONS

1. When students meet together with one accord on the eve of a football game, how do they behave?

2. How would they behave if they came together with one accord on Christmas Eve, and cared as much about their religion as they do about a football game?

3. Have you ever heard or read of religious gatherings where people seemed to care as much about their religion as students care about football games? How did they behave?

4. What is social service and in what respects have the ideas of social service changed?

5. Do you think that the country church might be a factor in promoting the coöperative spirit among farmers?

6. Do you think it possible that the church may save people from the demoralizing effects of prosperity in the future as effectively as it has saved them from the demoralizing effects of adversity in the past?

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CHAPTER XXI

RURAL EDUCATION

Education and democracy. There is a logical connection between education and democracy. In a democracy the people have no one to depend upon but themselves. If the government adopts an unwise policy, it is the fault of the people; if the government adopts a wise policy, it is because of the wisdom of the people. Whenever a people dispense with monarchy, they have burned their bridges behind them. There is no going back. They can go only forward, but they cannot go forward unless they provide for the training of future generations. The progress of democracy is dependent upon a wise and intelligent citizenry. A wise and intelligent citizenry is the product of its educational system.

What is a school? The means by which people are educated are of various kinds and names. The word "school" covers a large proportion of these, but not all. The really active man will find a way to acquire a good deal of education under almost any set of conditions. Living alone in a hermitage, it would still be possible for a man to learn a great deal about the surrounding conditions or the life that goes on in the immediate neighborhood. A contemplative mind even in isolation would think deeply about the problems of the universe. Many of the greatest ideas the world has known, especially of a religious or metaphysical sort, are the products of isolation or of contemplative minds thinking in isolation. However, in spite of all that has been achieved by philosophers living alone in the desert, there is not much doubt that association with other minds is an advantage for the great majority of us. Even that definition of a first-class college as consisting of Mark Hopkins sitting on a log with a boy who wants to learn, introduces the factor of association. The boy without Mark Hopkins might learn a great deal, espe-

cially if he had an active mind; but the probabilities are that he would learn much more through contact with a mature mind. However, even that definition of a university is inadequate. In other words, Mark Hopkins and a hundred boys would be much better than Mark Hopkins with one boy. Boys learn a great deal from one another, possibly more than from their teachers. College students undoubtedly learn more from one another than they do from the faculty, although what they learn from their fellow students may not be worth as much as what they learn from the faculty.

It is in accordance with the law of probabilities that a hundred persons will think of more things than one person can. It will not be hard to convince a teacher that a hundred boys will think of more devilment than one boy. It is just as demonstrable that a hundred boys will think of more good and useful things than one boy could. When in association, the thought of one becomes the thought of all. That is why a hundred boys will actually commit more devilment when they are working in association than the same number would commit if each worked in isolation. For the same reason a hundred will do more good work when working in association if they are started in the right direction. The poorest kind of college would be a boy on the log without Mark Hopkins; the next poorest would be the boy on the log with Mark Hopkins. A much better institution would be a hundred boys grouped around Mark Hopkins, and a still better would be a thousand boys in the same college with ten Mark Hopkinses.

The fact that the association of minds is so great an advantage and the isolation of minds so great a disadvantage gives peculiar importance to the country school. The city has association. The contact of mind with mind is one of the outstanding characteristics of city life. The city person in constant association with other minds is likely to acquire some kind of education, whether he goes to school or not. The number of contacts of mind with mind in the country is much less. The rural person who never goes to school suffers a greater handicap than the city person. The deepest ignorance is not found in

cities, but in those isolated rural districts where people have never been to school, and, having few opportunities of contact with other minds, have merely steeped and stewed in their own prejudices. Such extreme cases, however, are relatively few and are confined to the more isolated rural districts. Nevertheless, country people as a whole have fewer social and intellectual contacts and are therefore more dependent upon schools for their education.

The importance of country schools is further evidenced by the fact that approximately ten million of the children of this country live in rural communities. Of these about nine million are enrolled in country schools, and approximately seven million are in regular daily attendance during the school terms.

The problem of the curriculum. The perennial theme for discussion is, What should schools teach? Whether we are thinking of city schools or country schools, the problem is always with us. It is difficult to reach any hard-and-fast conclusion. Some clarification of the problem may result from an attempt to go back to first principles. The great problem of every living creature is how to adapt itself to its surroundings. With most creatures it is merely a problem of passive adaptation, that is, having its organism modified so as to fit into its surroundings. If the climate is cold, it must develop within its own body means of keeping itself warm,— fur, feathers, or blubber; or it may develop a powerful digestion by means of which it can burn enough fuel to keep itself warm. If it must secure its food from the sea, it may develop fins or flippers or other means of propelling itself through the water. If it must defend itself against dangerous enemies, it must develop such fighting organs as teeth, claws, horns, and hoofs.

Man, however, within limits, is able to assume the active rôle and to avoid, to a certain extent, the necessity of being passively modified. He can keep himself warm by building shelters and fires and by manufacturing clothing. These are changes outside his own organism. In fact, he may be said to be creating his own environment within limits. If he has to make his living from the sea, he fashions boats, sails, and oars. If he has to defend him-

self against enemies, he manufactures weapons of offense and defense that are not parts of his own body. However, even though he assumes an active rôle, he is still faced with the universal problem of adaptation. He cannot escape this problem by closing his eyes and imagining that it does not exist. The universal command to all living creatures is: "Adapt or die."

The capacity for organization. The problem of human adaptation, however, has become increasingly complex. A very large part of the problem is that of proper organization. It has been found by long experience that organized effort in almost every field is superior to isolated effort. More food can be produced by organization and the division of labor than by individual or disorganized effort. More and better shelters can be made; better protection against one's enemies can be secured. In other words, it pays to work together whether we like it or not. Those who like to work with others get on better than those who dislike it. Thus, in the long run, by the sheer process of eliminating those who dislike it and preserving those who like it, we have built up a race of men who like rather than dislike working together. Hence not only is the development of adequate organization a necessary part of the process of adaptation, but the building up of attitudes of mind favorable to organization is equally important.

Education evaluated in terms of adaptation. Education, like every other phase of human activity, must be evaluated in terms of adaptation. In so far as it aids in the process of adaptation, it is valuable; in so far as it fails to aid in that direction, it is without value. Every item in the individual's education must help in the process of adaptation, or it is valueless; but, as indicated above, the process of human adaptation has become exceedingly complex; therefore the problem of education as an aid to adaptation has become equally complex. It is apparent, of course, that knowledge of the laws of health is a factor in adaptation. By means of this knowledge we can survive in large numbers where without it we should perish in larger numbers. It is equally apparent that knowledge of the technical processes by which the food supply is increased is valuable from the stand-

point of adaptation. By means of this knowledge we can survive in larger numbers than we could without it. More people can live, and live well, where this knowledge is widespread than would be possible where it did not exist. The same may be said with regard to the technical processes of producing clothing, shelter, fuel, and other necessities.

Inasmuch as organization is essential to the most effective work in any of these directions, it is equally important that knowledge of the principles of organization shall be acquired. The people who understand clearly the principles of organization or of teamwork on a large scale can survive and flourish where others would decline or perish. It is to this knowledge of the principles of organization that democracies must look for their permanent success. Under a despotism the people do not need to know much about organization or teamwork on a national scale, since that problem is taken care of by the despotic class that assumes charge of government. But in a democracy people are dependent upon themselves, not simply for the technical knowledge of processes of production but for the knowledge of the principles of teamwork and organization as well.

Importance of teamwork. It is in this field of teamwork, or organization, that the broadest culture is necessary. To begin with, human history is largely the history of human teamwork. It is a study of the way in which large numbers of people have organized their efforts under government,— the largest and most comprehensive form of teamwork which the human race has yet developed. A study of literature is largely a study of what great masters have said at different times about teamwork in its various phases. Every great drama is a reënactment of some phase of teamwork and of the cross currents of human interest that affect teamwork favorably or unfavorably. Some great philosophical problems have to do with man's relation to the universe; but the problems in which the largest number of people are interested are those that grow out of human relationships and fundamentally affect teamwork, that is, the ethical and moral problems. Of course, the study of economics, government, and sociology deals directly with problems of teamwork.

Culture and technique. Enough has been written to indicate that broad cultural education is as vitally concerned with the problem of human adaptation as the so-called technical or practical education can possibly be. This is peculiarly applicable to the problem of rural education. One of the great weaknesses of rural life in America has been the lack of training in organization and teamwork. It would not be correct to say that too much attention has been given to the technical problems of agricultural production, but it would be strictly true to say that too little has been given to the problems of social organization among rural people. This will never be corrected until the rural schools focus more attention upon this group of problems. Moreover, it will not be corrected until rural educators realize that the problem of organization is something more than merely trying to find out what is the best type of organization. No effective organization was ever formed by merely saying, "Go to now, let us be organized." Back of the desire to organize and to find a convenient form of organization there must be minds capable of being organized; and there must be a coöperative spirit, or a general attitude favorable to organization. That this is the product of centuries of development is a somewhat difficult point to make clear, but it must be made clear even at the risk of being tedious.

Moral factors. Let us begin with a somewhat remote illustration in the field of military activity, which is one highly specialized form of teamwork. The technique of military organization is soon learned by an intellectual people. Japan, for example, learned in a single generation all that the great military powers of Europe knew about the technique of military organization and the manufacture of guns and explosives. But Japan could not and did not learn in a single generation the remarkable loyalty and amenability to discipline which her soldiers showed. That was the result of hundreds of years of steady and constant discipline and education. Any group of capable people could learn in a short time all that we know in this country about technical agriculture as it is taught in our schools. They could not acquire in a short time the rural attitude of mind, the love

of farming, the success and the dignity of rural life. That also must be built up by generations of persistent education and culture. Again, any nation of competent people could learn all that we know, or that any modern democracy knows, of the technique of government organization. It would require hundreds, perhaps thousands, of years, however, to build up a democratic attitude of mind and a patriotism that would lead the individual to sacrifice his own interests for the larger good. People can never have democracy on a national scale until they have developed the national spirit.

The first thing for a rural school that hopes to be a means of building a superior rural organization to undertake would probably be the development of a kind of neighborhood patriotism, to give every pupil a genuine desire to build a better neighborhood than was ever built before, and to make him willing to sacrifice immediate and temporary interests for the larger and more permanent social interests of his neighborhood. If that spirit or attitude of mind can once be built up in any neighborhood, the technical question of the best form of organization is soon settled.

The creation of desire. The rural schools of Denmark furnish an excellent illustration of this point. The outstanding thing about them is not that they teach technical agriculture, for they teach very little; nor is it that they teach the pupils the best forms of rural organization and coöperation, for they teach very little of that (though the farmers of Denmark are probably better organized than those of any other part of the world). The conspicuous fact is that the rural schools develop not only a national but a local patriotism. The pupils are inspired with a genuine desire to build better rural communities as well as a better Denmark. That desire, once developed, makes every pupil a potential local statesman with a genuine zeal to find the best forms of organization. Where the desire is present and active it is highly probable that effective forms of organization will be discovered. Without such an active desire the information itself would be of little use. It is like trying to teach savages how to manufacture modern clothing when they do not care to

wear it. If you want them to wear modern clothing, you must first create in them an intense desire to wear it. After that they can be easily taught how to make it. It is basically the same problem that teachers find in every school or college. It is hard to teach anything to the pupil who does not care to learn. The first and great task is to create the desire. Where that exists, the rest is relatively easy. The desire to build a great and glorious nation, supplemented by the desire to build a great and glorious neighborhood, if it becomes general and intense, will materialize in some definite form of progress.

The rural-school curriculum must aim first at creating sound attitudes of mind and constructive desires. Here the general appeal to literature (especially the literature of inspiration), to history, and to government, economics, and sociology must be made. Incidentally, and as a subordinate part of the education, should come some technical instruction in the actual operations that are necessary in the work of adaptation.

The suggestion made above about willingness to make personal sacrifices in the interest of the community must not be interpreted as meaning that the interests of the individual generally conflict with the interests of the community. The interests of the individual sometimes coincide with those of the community. Therefore it is not necessary to cultivate a general and universal spirit of altruism in order to make the best citizens. It is necessary, however, to help students see that there are many ways by which they can promote both their own and the community's interests at the same time, and other ways by which they may promote their own interests by antagonizing those of the community.

To do good, honest work in the expectation of an ample reward may have an element of self-interest in it, but it is the kind of interest that promotes the welfare of the whole community. To try to promote one's interest by doing poor work or deceiving somebody else is, of course, a disadvantage to the community in general. To pursue self-interest in that way is to injure the community. One needs only enough altruism to lead him to refrain from pursuing his interest in harmful ways

and to pursue self-interest in useful and constructive ways. To try to carry altruism further than this would probably do more harm than good. Certainly it would do harm rather than good if a man should refrain from performing good and useful work merely because it might redound to his advantage. The essential thing is to get as much useful and productive work done as possible. If the work is done from self-interest, it is still good work. If it is done from altruism, it is also good work. If a combination of self-interest and altruism will secure the maximum amount of good and useful work, then that combination is desirable. To be specific, it is important that rural people shall grow as good crops as they possibly can. The crops are equally good whether grown for the hope of reward in the form of a price or grown without any hope of a reward or price of any kind.

What should schools teach? In the beginning of this chapter mention was made of educational opportunities. For obvious reasons there are many places outside of schools in which one can secure a part of one's education. It is not necessary and apparently not desirable that the school should try to monopolize all forms of education or try to teach everything that any person could possibly need to know. There are many things that can be learned outside of schools quite as well as inside. It would be a waste of energy to try to put into the school curriculum such things as can be best learned outside. An agricultural college that undertook to teach farm boys how to milk cows would probably be wasting energy. The boy can learn to milk cows on a farm as well as in school. A girl can learn to wield a broom in her own home as well as in a school. In short, a school, whether rural or urban, should confine itself to those subjects in which it has an advantage over the home, the farm, or the shop. The science of chemistry, apparently, can be studied to little advantage except where there is a laboratory. It is more economical to have a laboratory in a school than to have one in each family. There could be no possible doubt that a school is the place in which to study chemistry. Many other subjects also require laboratories. Some require laboratories

which the school can provide more economically than the families. Many subjects require expert teachers, and expertness is not found in the average home.

Rural schools are not different from urban schools in these particulars. A first-class law school does not attempt to teach everything that a lawyer would need to know. The student gets part of his education in a law school, part of it in a law office, and part by attendance upon courts. The medical school does not attempt to teach everything that a doctor needs to know. The student gets a part of his education in a medical school, part in a hospital, and part by observing the way in which successful physicians run their own offices. There is no reason why a rural school should attempt to teach everything that rural people need to know. It should confine itself to those things which cannot be effectively taught in the average rural home or on the average farm. These remarks are made in order definitely to correct the tendency to put into the rural school a great many technical subjects of minor importance conveying information that the pupil can easily pick up elsewhere. The effect of overloading the rural curriculum with technical subjects of minor importance is to crowd out some of the larger subjects of permanent importance and subjects which cannot be studied to good advantage outside of school.

Local patriotism. The creation of a general patriotic interest in the progress of a local community depends upon many different things. Some knowledge of the history of that community, especially of its pioneers and heroes, is desirable as a kind of background. A part of this background will be a knowledge of the men who have left the community and attained distinction in the outside world, also knowledge of local geography, maps, and other devices.

It goes without saying that a larger patriotism — that is, an emotional interest in the state and nation — should be cultivated along with local patriotism. A man whose education includes the story of "Paul Revere's Ride," the reciting of Webster's peroration on "Liberty and Union," and other lofty expressions of national idealism, has something in his education that makes him

a better citizen. Those who have never read the Declaration of Independence with some emotional emphasis, or the Constitution,—especially its Preamble,—who have not broadened their sympathies through reading Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address, or felt a patriotic fervor from reading the Gettysburg Address, can never be such intelligent citizens as those who have had these experiences. Only those whose emotional interests have been properly developed and directed ever have a sufficient motive for acquiring the technical knowledge and skill necessary to good citizenship.

Rural schools. The key to most of the educational problems of the country is the rural school. There is scarcely a single phase of country life in which the school may not become a vitalizing factor. The boys' and girls' clubs should begin there. The study of farm production, marketing, sources of supply, farm accounts, and road and telephone construction should be a part of the school's work. The social interests of the community should be studied also.

There should be a distinct and persistent movement to make the country schools at least as efficient as the city schools. To accomplish this the entire school system of the state must eventually be supported and administered as a unit, as the school system of a city is now. Because one section of a city is less prosperous than another is not considered a valid reason why the children of the less prosperous section should have poorer schools than those of the richer section. This policy should be made to apply to the entire state. The fact that there is less wealth in the country than in the city ought not to be considered a valid reason why country children should have poorer schools than city children. They should all have equal support out of the tax fund of the entire state, and they should all be administered as a unit. If each ward of a city were restricted to the taxes of that ward for school purposes, it would often happen that the most populous wards would have the least money to support their schools, because of the scarcity of taxable property, whereas the least populous wards would have the most money for schools, because of the large amounts of taxable

property. This would so obviously be wasteful and inefficient that no enlightened city would tolerate it. Yet that is precisely what happens in all our states. Schools are supported, not in proportion to the need for them, which is the only correct principle, but mainly in proportion to the amount which each community can raise.

In order that the state school system may be administered as a unit there must be at the head of the state system a highly trained expert, not elected but appointed, as is the superintendent of a city school system. He should have ample power and an adequate staff of assistants and inspectors to enable him actually to inspect the schools of every county in the state.

Again, in each county there should be an educator with ample power, not elected, as are county superintendents now, but appointed, as are city superintendents, and a staff of assistants who will enable him to inspect and control every school in the county.

Until these things can be brought about through state legislation each community can do a great deal toward the improvement of its schools through concerted action. The study of the broader questions of national economy may well be turned over to the higher institutions of learning; but questions of local, or neighborhood, economy, with which the study of economics ought always to begin, may be studied to advantage in every country school. In many states it has already become possible to consolidate rural schools wherever the local communities are willing.

But the country school cannot possibly do everything in the way of education that is needed. At any rate, there are some things that one can learn better outside of school than inside. The committee should strive to utilize other educational resources, such as stereopticon and motion-picture outfits, study clubs, natural-history clubs, and circulating libraries of solid reading which will be of use to the community.

Adult rural education. There is one phase of rural education that is impossible without a local organization to foster it. That is what is sometimes called adult education. There should be a

division of the field between juvenile and adult education. General education of the kind that develops ideals, directs the interests, and enlarges the outlook belongs primarily to the field of juvenile education and must be carried on in schools. Practical education of the kind that trains for the immediate work of the farm belongs primarily in the field of adult education, and must, in the main, be carried on outside the schools. Youth is the age in which to develop higher ideals, nobler interests, and a wider outlook upon life and its problems. After maturity is reached and life purposes have become fixed, something may still be done toward the development of higher ideals and interests, but the teacher's efforts produce smaller results.

On the other hand, practical education in the narrower sense is not very successful with the very young. They are not so desirous of knowing how to improve the practical work of the farm as those who are faced with the responsibility of such problems. Since the farmer who sees his crops threatened by insect pests is more eager to learn how to combat them than a child would be, the teacher of such a subject can accomplish greater results with adults than with children.

Trying to teach individual farmers on scattered farms is not an economical expenditure of the teacher's energy, even though every farmer is eager to learn and has an immediate problem to which to apply what he learns. A neighborhood organization of farmers, all interested in the same group of problems, can economize the time and energy of a teacher, and, by being able to talk things over among themselves, can make a more effective use of what the teacher tells them than would be possible without an organization. Therefore a working neighborhood organization is a necessary basis for a good system of adult rural education.

QUESTIONS

1. Suppose that the surplus population migrates from the rural districts to the cities, and that each rural community must support its own schools. If a rural community supports excellent schools, is it not paying the cost of educating people for work in cities, or relieving the cities of the expense of educating its own future citizens?

2. In case the Federal and state governments should make heavy appropriations in favor of rural education, putting within the reach of every country child as good a school as is within the reach of every city child, how would this affect the attractiveness of country life?

3. What have we to learn from the rural schools of Denmark as to the subjects to be taught in rural schools and as to the methods of teaching?

4. Which is the better way to solve rural problems: (1) to wait for a formula which can be generally applied or for some genius who can come forward with a solution, or (2) to train large numbers of intelligent men and women for rural life, in the expectation that they may find a practical solution of such problems as arise?

5. How does juvenile education differ from adult education in rural districts? How can adult education among farmers be best carried on?

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CHAPTER XXII

RURAL HEALTH AND SANITATION

Different ways of judging a civilization. There are several bases on which we may judge the character of a civilization. One of these is the things about which the people of a period and nation choose to worry;[1] another, the things about which they choose to boast. Both of these depend partly upon the mental state of the people and partly upon the physical conditions under which they live. A few generations ago it was fashionable to assume that the physical conditions under which people had to live really determined their type of civilization. We now know that they may really care and worry about many other things, including their spiritual welfare. However, we are beginning to worry a great deal about our health.

It is apparent that even though people live under extremely unsanitary conditions, they may be entirely unconscious of the fact, or, if conscious of the fact, they may not worry about it, either because they do not care or because they do not see that anything can be done. As soon as they begin to worry about sanitary conditions, they are likely to do something to improve them. The North American Indians lived under physical conditions that certainly called for warmer houses and better heat appliances than the open fire on the ground in the middle of the wigwam; yet they did not worry about it, and as a consequence they did nothing about it. People of European extraction living under the same physical conditions would not have been satisfied with wigwams. They built more durable houses than the Indian wigwam and heated them with better appliances. The physical conditions were similar in the two cases, but the mental states were different, and these different mental attitudes led to different lines of action. In fact, as much depends upon the

[1] See E. A. Ross's "Principles of Sociology," p. 58 (The Century Co., 1920).

mental state of a people as upon their outward physical conditions in determining what they will do and what kind of civilization they will construct.

Civilization partly determined by worries. The suggestion that the type of civilization is largely determined, in any time and place, by the chief worries of the population has in it an element of truth. When people were more worried about the danger of military invasion, their whole civilization took on a militant aspect. Society was organized more or less like an army, and industry was designed as much to provide for the needs of an army as to provide for the needs of the private citizen. When people were freed from the worry about the danger of military invasion, there were still plenty of other things to worry about. Scurrying about to find something to eat has been an ever-present problem in civilization. It does not, however, require quite the same kind of organization as planning for defense against military attack. Experience seems to show that the food problem is more effectively solved by throwing each family on its own responsibility and saying to it, "Root, hog, or die." Whatever organization is necessary is undertaken on the basis of voluntary agreement among the seekers after food, and does not require a large authoritative structure such as is necessary for military defense.

When the chief worry of the average man is not merely where to find the next meal, but how to pay his bills, the problem becomes slightly different. The quest for food is transformed into the quest for money. When a man's chief worry becomes neither military defense, food, nor money, but how to outshine his neighbors or not to be outshone by them, his chief quest is to find something about which he can boast.

Probably no period in the world's history has given us so many things to worry about or to boast about as the first quarter of the twentieth century. We have lived through the most devastating war of history, and some of us are worrying lest it should be followed by another still more devastating. We have seen China and Russia suffer the loss of thousands by hunger, and we are by no means certain that we have yet put an

end to famine. We have watched typhus rage through certain Slavic nations until it burned itself out, and we are by no means certain that we have gained a mastery over such epidemics. We have beheld the unspeakable Turk flinging Christian refugees on the shores of Greece, and we are by no means certain that the ravages of the Turk will not increase rather than diminish in the future. We have witnessed the devastating effect of earthquakes and volcanoes, and we expect such paroxysms of nature to continue.

In the midst of such uncertainties and after repeated shocks to our sensibilities, it is not surprising if our sympathies are somewhat dulled and we are inclined to say "Kismet. It is the will of Allah." However, upon the recurrence of each new disaster the American people have so far shown a ready sympathy and a willingness to respond in practical measures of relief. Yet within our own territory there are enemies at work that are quite as destructive as any of these spectacular catastrophes of the last decade that have so shocked us. These enemies are the various diseases that claim every year victims equal in number to those of any of the great calamities that have befallen mankind. The danger of death and destruction by physical violence can be seen with the physical eye; the menace of disease is envisioned only by the enlightened mind. Fire, flood, or earthquake come suddenly, and their victims are counted in hundreds; disease germs work slowly but steadily, and their victims fall one by one.

To combat such an evil requires not a sudden outburst of sympathy, but eternal vigilance. To develop a comprehensive health program is much more difficult than to arouse sympathy for the victims of a great catastrophe. The American is likely to be shocked when he reads that in India many thousands of people die every year from snake bite; he may even point the finger of scorn at India because it does not adopt a systematic campaign for the extermination of poisonous reptiles; and yet the same person is not shocked when told that the house fly probably destroys more people in America than poisonous reptiles do in India. Only a highly intelligent people, capable of thinking logically, will ever be aroused to effective sanitary

measures against invisible enemies. Once in a while some appalling epidemic, such as the influenza epidemic of 1918 and 1919, will arouse a people to action, though in some cases the only result is consternation and fear rather than constructive measures for prevention.

It used to be thought that rural districts were naturally more healthful than urban centers. Where masses of people congregate, disease enemies are likely to multiply rapidly; where homes are widely scattered, disease enemies do not multiply so rapidly and there are fewer opportunities for contagion. Yet by taking effective measures against the spread and increase of disease, cities have become almost, if not quite, as healthful as the average rural community. If we compare the best of our cities with the worst and most backward of our rural communities, the advantage is decidedly in favor of the former.

Economic waste due to illness. The purely economic waste from poor sanitation is the least of the reasons for improved sanitary measures, yet the figures of this economic waste are appalling. A few years ago the Federated American Engineering Societies[1] appointed a committee to report on the elimination of waste in industry. Among the greatest of wastes was found to be that of illness. More than 42,000,000 persons gainfully employed in the United States lost, on the average, more than eight days annually from illness, or a total of 350,000,000. The committee expressed the opinion that of the 500,000 workers who die each year, at least one half might have been preserved for a period of years if the proper precautions and care had been taken. If a reasonable economic value were assigned to this loss, it would mean a sum of money which would pay the cost of a nation-wide sanitary campaign of a thoroughgoing sort. These losses have been estimated at approximately $2,000,000,000 a year.

As far back as 1910 the Senate Report on National Health estimated that half a million persons were at that time suffering from tuberculosis, half of whom were totally incapacitated.

[1] See Irving Fisher's "National Vitality," Senate Document No. 676, pp. 668–670.

From this "great white plague" the same report estimated that 250,000 die annually. It is now known that this disease in its early stages is curable, and that it is possible through intelligent social coöperation to make it as rare as smallpox. About 40,000 cases of typhoid fever are reported in the United States annually, and one eighth of these are fatal. It has been estimated that each person attacked by this disease is incapacitated for about seventy-five days. In certain cities where adequate protective and preventive measures have been adopted, the death rate from this cause has been reduced from 78 per 100,000 to less than 10 per 100,000. In certain European cities the death rate from this source is less than 2 per 100,000.

Preventive measures in country and city. There is a noticeable difference in the extent to which preventive measures are adopted in rural and urban communities. Medical inspection of school children is provided for in 23 states, but it is mandatory in cities of 12 states, while in only 7 is it mandatory for rural schools. Medical inspection is practiced in 450 cities; inspection by dentists is performed in 65 cities, and in 1926 was compulsory in only one rural county. Free clinics for nose, eye, ear, throat, and other defects are available in almost all cities, but so far as known no open-country district has yet offered such service. There are 204 cities that provide school nurses, and laws in 16 states provide that county commissioners may engage such a person if they consider this necessary. Recreation, athletics, and physical training with proper facilities and equipment are common in most large cities. These things have hardly begun to penetrate the rural districts. Of course, it may be argued that these measures are more necessary in densely populated areas. There is something to be said for this, yet the fact is that sanitation and disease prevention are rapidly making such headway in the cities as to reduce considerably both sickness and the death rate. It looks as if it were only a question of time when the average city would be more healthful than the average rural district.

It is frequently stated even now that rural school children have more mental and physical defects than city children. Such

a sweeping statement must be accepted with reservations, because the registration area within which statistics are kept is too limited to warrant the drawing of final conclusions. The United States census offers the following figures for 1911: Of the total urban deaths 26.2 per cent were children under 5; of the total rural deaths 23.3 per cent were children under 5. For children from 5 to 14 and from 14 to 24 the city showed somewhat better results.

The National Education Association made a study of twenty-five of the leading cities of the country and 1831 rural communities. The area covered is fairly representative and includes one township in Massachusetts, one county each in Virginia and Idaho, two counties in New Jersey, and 294,427 children in Pennsylvania. Tabulated results were as follows:

CHILDREN SHOWING DEFECTS[1]

Types of Diseases	Per Cent in Cities	Per Cent in Country
More than one defect	78.00	78.00
Teeth defects	33.58	48.80
One defect	28.90	28.90
Throat defects	20.40	26.50
Pediculosis	18.60	11.10
Nasal defects	14.40	20.75
Eye defects	13.43	21.08
Enlarged glands	13.01	8.28
Tonsil defects	16.42	28.14
Adenoids	12.50	23.40
Exclusions	11.10	11.25
Malnutrition	7.65	16.60
Naso-pharynx defects	7.50	15.90
Skin diseases	3.30	3.30
Breathing defects	2.10	4.20
Eruptions	1.95	1.12
Anæmia	1.50	1.65
Heart disease	0.40	0.74
Lung disease	0.32	0.80
Curvature of the spine	0.10	0.30
Unclean	0.17	1.70
Mental defects	0.15	0.80
Ear defects	1.28	4.78

[1] P. L. Vogt, Introduction to Rural Sociology (Second Edition, 1922), p. 160. D. Appleton and Company.

The Office of the Surgeon General of the War Department has given us some valuable information in comparative studies[1] relating to rural and urban recruits in the World War. His classification, however, does not coincide identically with that of the United States census. He classifies as urban only those who come from cities of 45,000 or above, but in spite of this discrepancy the facts revealed are of some value.

PER CENT OF CASES SHOWING DEFECTS

Types of Diseases	Per Cent in City	Per Cent in Country
Defects of some sort	38.2	33.2
Defective vision	6.26	4.79
Pulmonary tuberculosis	3.26	4.71
Defective teeth	3.85	3.79
Hernia	3.46	2.96

The problem of mental defectives. The problem of mental defectives is as yet unsolved. The rural average of intelligence is probably kept down somewhat by the fact that in some sections mentally defective persons are under no restraint and are free to multiply. In cities such persons would be promptly classed as paupers or feeble-minded and would therefore be segregated in institutions where they could not marry and have children. If these degenerate rural neighborhoods are eliminated from the discussion, and a comparison is made between the cities and what may be called normal rural neighborhoods, there is no statistical reason for believing that there would be any great difference in the percentage of mental defectives.

According to the United States census for 1910 there were 60,769 persons admitted to insane hospitals during that year, 36,654 of whom came from cities, villages, or other incorporated places of more than 2500 inhabitants, and 20,442 from the smaller towns and the open country. This would seem to indicate that insanity is a phenomenon of urban rather than of rural life. On the other hand, it appears that feeble-mindedness is a little more general in rural than in urban life. If we take

[1] *Bulletin 11*, Office of the Surgeon General, pp. 121–134.

all mental diseases, it appears that the states with large urban populations have a larger percentage in institutions than the states with large rural populations. Connecticut, for example, had 317.8 per 100,000 in institutions for the care of mental defectives of all kinds; Indiana, 191.1; Kansas, 172.6; Maine, 214.4; Massachusetts, 373.4; Montana, 200.8; New York, 374.6; North Dakota, 192.5.[1]

The urban and rural death rate. The following table[2] gives the death rate by ages for urban and rural communities within the registration area in 1911:

Age Period	Urban Death Rate		Rural Death Rate	
	Number	Proportion of All Urban Deaths	Number	Proportion of All Rural Deaths
		Per Cent		*Per Cent*
Under 5	108,645	26.2	79,714	23.3
5–14	14,535	3.5	12,623	3.7
15–24	25,564	6.0	21,100	6.2
25–44	78,954	19.3	47,344	13.9
45–54	94,580	22.9	63,915	18.7
54 and over	91,496	22.1	117,107	34.2
Unknown	186	less than 1	1,054	less than 1
Totals	413,960	100.0	342,857	100.0

More detailed statistics show that certain diseases seem to be more destructive in the country and others in the city. Deaths from senility are higher in the country than in the city, but this may be accounted for by the fact that there is a larger percentage of extremely old people in the country than in the city. Typhoid fever is less under control in the country districts. Influenza is more destructive to rural than to urban dwellers, and diseases of the stomach, exclusive of cancer, are also more prevalent in the country.

The Bureau of the Census published a special report in 1916 entitled "United States Life Tables, 1910," prepared under the direction of Professor James W. Glover of the University of Michigan.[3] The tables are based on the general unselected

[1] From a census taken by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York City.

[2] See P. L. Vogt's "Introduction to Rural Sociology" (Second Edition), p. 158.

[3] See Whipple's "Vital Statistics" (1919), p. 434, Table 147.

population, and therefore differ from the life table of the insurance companies. The data were obtained from the United States census of 1910, and expectation of life is computed in months up to one year of age, and after that in years.

EXPECTATION OF LIFE (1910)

Age, original registration states	0	10	20	30	40	50	70
White males in cities . . .	47.32	49.13	40.51	32.61	25.32	18.59	8.14
White males in country . .	55.06	54.53	45.92	38.10	30.20	22.43	9.36
White females in cities . . .	51.39	52.22	43.51	35.52	27.88	20.53	8.99
White females in country .	57.35	55.54	56.86	39.05	31.15	23.27	9.76

In every case the figures are more favorable to the country than to the city. They are also more favorable to the distinctly rural states, such as Indiana and Michigan, than to the urban states, such as Massachusetts and New York.

Farming an extra-hazardous occupation. It may be surprising to find that farming is classed among the hazardous employments by those insurance companies that insure against accident. And yet it is surprising that there are not more farm accidents when you consider the number of chances that occur in the handling of horses, mowing-machines, twine-binders, hay-forks, silage-cutters, corn-shredders, tractors, gasoline engines, fencing-wire, and bulls and other farm animals. Society demands that factory machinery be so protected as to be almost foolproof, but there are no laws providing similar protection against farm machinery or farm animals. The United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, in March, 1915, issued the following figures regarding accident-insurance rates:

PREVAILING RATES FOR ACCIDENT INSURANCE

Type of Risk	Rate per Year	Type of Risk	Rate per Year
Select	$4.00	Medium	$10.00
Preferred	5.00	Extra-medium	12.50
Extra-preferred	6.00	Hazardous	15.00
Ordinary	7.50	Extra-hazardous	20.00
Extraordinary	8.75		

Farming, as stated above, is classed as hazardous. One insurance company charges the farmer $15.00 a year for accident insurance, and another charges $14.75. The reason for this high rate is not simply the greater danger of accidents, but the longer time the farmer is likely to be incapacitated as compared with indoor workers generally.

Deaths from tuberculosis have been tabulated in New Jersey for 1916. The following table[1] shows the total number and the number in each age group, but unfortunately does not show the percentages or the proportion of deaths to the total number engaged in each occupation.

Occupation	Total	Age Groups								
		10–19	20–29	30–39	40–49	50–59	60–69	70–79	80–89	90
Farmers	47	2	6	1	9	11	9	6	3	0
Farm laborers .	11	2	2	3	1	2	1	0	0	0
Clerks	110	11	45	31	20	1	2	0	0	0
Housekeepers and stewards . . .	858	34	276	269	158	65	36	18	1	1
General laborers	364	12	61	96	116	49	27	4	0	0
Stone-cutters . .	19	0	0	2	4	7	5	1	0	0

The annual report of the Michigan State Board of Health for 1916–1917 states that the mortality rates for the years 1908 to 1915, inclusive, were 16.2 per 100,000 persons for urban centers and 12.2 per 100,000 persons for rural districts. According to figures given by the United States Department of Labor, the average age at death for all occupations was 47.9 years, whereas for farmers and farm laborers it was 58.5 years. The Department states that these figures are not final, but in so far as they can be depended upon they seem to be favorable to country life. However, the higher age at which farmers die may be due to the fact that the younger men are drawn off to urban occupations.

The rural health program. The following items have been suggested as necessary parts of a constructive program for the improvement of rural health. Beginning with school children, there should be, first, a health examination by competent ex-

[1] G. C. Whipple's "Vital Statistics" (1923), p. 371.

perts to determine what is needed for the correction of defects and the improvement of health where improvement is necessary. Secondly, the rural nurse should follow up the examinations with adequate supervision and see that recommendations are carried out. Thirdly, medical clinics should be available. Until there is a free clinic within reach of every rural person the health of rural children will never be adequately safeguarded. Fourthly, a well-equipped hospital should be within automobile distance of every rural family. Fifthly, there should be ample playgrounds and recreational facilities.

Rural sanitation.[1] There is enough scientific knowledge already available to improve vastly the health of any rural community that will apply this knowledge. Every rural community should be informed as to what has already been discovered regarding the cause and prevention of such common diseases as malaria, typhoid fever, and tuberculosis, and should be persuaded to apply this knowledge. The application of this knowledge may sometimes require hard and persistent work; but when people realize clearly that babies can be killed with fly-infected food, they will act promptly. The early pioneers acted vigorously to exterminate wild animals. Organized wolf hunts have been carried on in most of our states west of the Alleghenies within the memory of men now living. Even the rabbit has been the object of well-organized campaigns on the Pacific coast. The reason was that these pests were large enough to be seen, and the damage they did was visible to the eye. Therefore it was easy to realize the danger from them. When the danger from insect and microscopic pests is equally clear, we shall act with equal vigor. It is not too much to hope that the time will come when the fly, the mosquito, and the hookworm, together with the germs of such dread diseases as tuberculosis and typhoid fever, will be as nearly extinct as wolves, bears, and panthers now are in the older states.

It is hoped that some day every county will have a full-time health officer, chosen because of his special knowledge of sanitary

[1] See T. N. Carver's "Organization of a Rural Community," United States Department of Agriculture Yearbook, 1914.

science, provided with ample power to compel obedience to the fundamental laws of sanitation, and assisted by a corps of trained workers, who shall inspect every school, church, and public building, examine all school children, require all drains, privies, and wells to be constructed on scientific principles and all dairy barns to be clean and wholesome, and do anything else which will improve the health and reduce the death rate of the country. Meanwhile each local organization should be active in all these directions without waiting for new legislation. A trained nurse, to do both school and district nursing in the open country, may be supported in every township. She could also give a limited amount of instruction to mothers' clubs and school children on questions connected with the health of the people.

One may summarize by repeating that one test of human progress is the control which man has gained over the enemies that threaten his life. Our prehistoric ancestors must have fought valiantly against the huge beasts that threatened their destruction. The cave bear and the saber-toothed tiger were formidable enemies, but our courageous and resourceful ancestors exterminated them. Wolves, bears, and panthers have generally been driven out of civilized communities, but a multitude of invisible enemies still prey upon and destroy us. It is for us and our descendants to hunt the last harmful microbe to his lair and kill him. Some progress in this direction has already been made, — witness the falling death rate, — but there is much more to be done.

QUESTIONS

1. Point out some very palpable worries which confront different stages of civilization.

2. Suppose we had in every township a small hospital and clinic with a resident nurse and visiting medical specialists, and suppose, moreover, that the roads were good enough to make it possible for these visiting specialists to visit a considerable number of these local clinics. (1) Would it be possible to secure high-grade medical help for rural people? (2) If so, how would this affect the attractiveness of country life? (3) What other suggestions would you make for a program for the improvement of rural health and sanitation?

3. Do you think it possible to exterminate or effectively control the mosquito, the fly, and other carriers of disease in rural districts? If so, what methods would you suggest?

4. What is the most common form of preventable disease in your own rural neighborhood, and what measures would you suggest for its prevention?

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CHAPTER XXIII

RECREATION FOR RURAL PEOPLE

Play a human propensity. It is the nature of every normal human being to play. This means little more than to say that there is something which every person likes to do. "Play" is merely a general name for those activities which give us pleasure. Even sawing wood may be play under certain circumstances and to a certain extent. Going fishing is play if we do not have to go oftener than we like. Beyond that it becomes work, and we have to be paid for doing it. Many people believe that this would be a delightful world if we could play and make a living at the same time.

Some difficulties, however, seem to stand in the way of the realization of such an ideal. It is highly improbable that the number of people who would like to go fishing would correspond exactly to the number necessary to supply the world with fish, or that the number of those who would delight in gardening or poultry-raising would be the number necessary to supply the world with garden truck and with poultry products; and so on through all the different occupations. The improbabilities become so great as to amount to practical certainties. In other words, it is reasonably certain that no such world could ever exist. In order to get enough of certain products, more people must be induced to produce them than like to do so. The prevalence of desires whose satisfaction requires effort that is non-pleasurable is an ever-present fact. Consequently there must be work. Not all of us can play all the time. This is really one of the great problems of man's adaptation to the universe.

Nevertheless, our basic interest is in play rather than in work. The desire for certain activities is as definite as is the desire for certain goods. To deprive ourselves of the opportunity for pleasurable action, technically known as play, would be as great

a hardship as to deprive ourselves of material goods, except those necessary to our physical life. Agencies for the satisfaction of the desire for play are as legitimate as agencies for the production of material goods.

"Tell me how you spend your leisure time, and I will tell you what you are" is an old saying. However, it is almost synonymous with another statement, "Tell me how you spend your money, and I will tell you what you are" or "Tell me what material goods you prize most, and I will tell you what you are." You spend your money for the things you like best; you spend your leisure time doing the things you like best to do. These are pretty clear indications of your character.

On the whole it is not far from the truth to say that play has contributed as much to civilization as work, though there may be some slight exaggeration in such a statement. One interesting theory is that speech itself originated in play in the form of rhythmic movements and sounds; that is to say, the primitive being whom we now call man engaged in certain social activities with his fellows in which rhythmic motions of the bodies were accompanied by rhythmic sounds. Certain sounds came to be associated with certain motions and thus gave rise to verbs of action. As these games became more and more complex, an increasing number of sounds came to have customary meanings; in other words, with many repetitions a given sound came to be associated by custom with certain objects as well as with certain motions. Thus both nouns and verbs of action were developed. Whether this theory be correct or not, it is at least plausible to those who have studied the habits of animals and the habits, customs, and institutions of primitive man.

All this merely shows how deep-seated is the desire for pleasurable action, and how "weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable" the world would be if we were to eliminate play and limit ourselves wholly to material things as the source of satisfaction. This is not to be interpreted, however, as encouraging people to turn unreservedly to play. Work is a necessity imposed upon us by the facts of existence. It is generally more difficult to get people to work as much as they should in order to meet these

facts than it is to get them to play as much as they should for their own good. The process of adapting ourselves to the world in which we are forced to live consists in compelling ourselves to do whatever is necessary instead of abandoning ourselves to the guidance of our feelings and impulses.

The problem of play versus work. Here we are facing one of the oldest problems of human conduct. In dealing with this problem two distinct attitudes of mind have grown up. "Let us follow human nature; let us act according to our own propensities and inclinations," say those who exalt human nature and think rather ill of the material world in which they live. "Let us think and plan rationally; let us look forward to the future and decide what is wise to do, and then discipline ourselves into doing it," say the others, who think rather poorly of human nature in its present state of development and think rather highly of the great universe of which we form only relatively infinitesimal parts. In other words, the latter group believes that the perfection of human nature is not yet reached and will not be reached until we have built up a race of men who like to do what it is wise for them to do. It is not improbable — in fact, some scientists assert it to be true — that certain varieties of ants have already reached that state of moral perfection. These ants take a certain mad delight in doing exactly what it is wise that an ant should do. Certain thinkers reason that it is not too much to expect that at some time human nature will be similarly perfected. Men, like the ant, will take delight in working furiously to provide for both present and future needs. In short, men will play at productive work as eagerly as they now play football or other games. When human nature has reached that stage of perfection, the world will actually be the delightful place so often dreamed about, where we shall play all the time and yet make a living by it.

The balance of work and play. "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy" is a sound psychological principle. In the present stage of civilization, however, all play and no work is likely to make Jack a ragged and hungry boy. Here we are facing one of the great problems of balance, which in essence is much

like the problem of balance in the elements of human nutrition, plant food, or animal rations. Just where to draw the line between work and play is difficult. To work too little might give us a great deal of pleasure; but we should miss some necessary goods, and this would go a long way toward spoiling things. We have to make the choice, therefore, between more goods with less play or more play with fewer goods.

Something depends, of course, upon the kind of goods we happen to want and how badly we want them. Something also depends upon the relation of present and future. The boy may work very hard to earn money with which to buy a football, in which case he is depriving himself of play in the present in order that he may play to better advantage in the future. Another boy may work furiously for a considerable period in order to earn enough to buy an automobile. In this case also he is merely depriving himself of play in the present in order that he may have greater pleasure in the future. But with all these qualifications, based upon differences of time and place, we are still faced with the problem of choosing between more goods and more time for play.

Play is primarily both social and competitive. There are not many ways in which one can amuse himself, either when alone or in company, without some element of rivalry or competition. Of course, there are some highly pleasant employments that one can carry on alone, and there are probably a few that have no elements of rivalry or competition. However, it is a safe observation that most people get more pleasure out of activities that are carried on in association with others than out of those that are carried on alone, and more pleasure also from those activities in which there is a little element of rivalry or competition than from those that are wholly coöperative. This, rather than the superiority of competition as an economic method, probably explains the prevalence of the competitive system.

The educational and social value of play. The educational and social value of play consists partly in the stimulus which it gives to quick decision and strenuous action. Under the stimulus of play the brain delivers a heavier shock to the muscles

through the nerves, the muscles respond more violently, and feats are achieved that would otherwise be impossible. The power of the brain is thereby increased. The social value includes the primitive fact that one's actions must be coördinated with the actions of others. This is the beginning of all social life. The individual who has never learned to modify his own actions in accordance with the actions of others lacks the first element of sociability. Most people learn their first lessons in this direction while at play. Another factor is that in almost every game there is some sort of standard or rule of procedure to which each player must conform. In its essence this is the beginning of all law and order. In a game certain actions are prohibited, and the players know that they must observe such rules. In business and industry the same attention must be given to standards and rules. The individual who has never learned in play the meaning of rules and standards is not likely to learn it anywhere else. A country in which all the people play will not be easily led into a violent rebellion, for such people have at least a primitive understanding of the necessity of living up to certain standards.

The moral value of play. Being a good sport is probably, all things considered, the highest form of morality, and means several things. First, it means obeying the rules of the game; secondly, it means accepting defeat under the rules of the game rather than trying to win by violating the rules. The most important of all rules in practical life is that men shall win success by making themselves so useful that the world will be glad to pay them for their usefulness. The worst of all practices is trying to win success by making oneself so dangerous or disagreeable that the world will be afraid to refuse what one demands. A good sport always lives up to the first rule: he will try to win success according to the rules of the contest; that is, he will try to make himself so useful, to produce so good a product, to render such valuable service, that the world will be glad to pay him amply. The bad sport is one who will not accept defeat under this rule, but, when he is threatened with defeat under it, will try to win success by the other method.

He is like the football player who, rather than accept defeat by playing like a gentleman, will play like a thug.

Viewed in this way, being a good sport is certainly a very high type of morality. This type of morality is taught in games and sports rather than in books of ethics or discourses on morals. The ability to take defeat like a gentleman is one of the most difficult arts to master. If it has not already been acquired in games and sports, it is not likely to be developed in business or politics. Probably the only art more difficult than that of accepting defeat like a gentleman is that of accepting success like a gentleman. A good sport does not vaunt his success or make an ostentatious display of its trophies. The individual who has not learned this in games and sports probably will never learn it.

Different methods of providing recreation. There are three recognized methods of providing recreational facilities: (1) the spontaneous, (2) the commercial, (3) the political. Under the spontaneous method children or adults, wherever they happen to be, will improvise a game and find a plot on a lawn or other place in which to play it. In some respects and for certain games this is the best possible method. But there are other games which cannot be carried on in this way. A more or less permanent plant is required, such as a ball ground, a dancing-floor, or a special building. Voluntary clubs, operating under what may still be called the spontaneous method, may provide these things. Voluntary clubs are, however, not always effective or possible. In such cases either the commercial or the political method is necessary. A commercial organization may provide a ball ground, a movie building, and all the other paraphernalia of games and amusements, and pay the expense by charging admission. Thus the specific individuals who get the advantage pay for it. The political method is for some group of citizens to get enough votes to impose a tax on the public to provide the place and the paraphernalia.

Each of these methods has its advantages, and the argument cannot be settled in favor of any one of them. The spontaneous form of recreational enterprise seems to be better adapted to the country than to the city. Less expensive recreational plants

are generally required in the country than in the city, and country people, where they happen to come together, are able to improvise spontaneous sports and amusements more successfully than city people who are handicapped by the lack of room or expensive equipment. The commercial and political forms of promotion are less needed in the country than in the city, though this does not mean that they can be eliminated altogether. Public parks and picnic grounds as well as playgrounds are a necessity in every rural community.

Seasonal character of rural recreation. Opportunities for outdoor forms of recreation are, of course, more abundant in the country than in the city, especially in the summer months. This fact should have some bearing upon the character of rural recreations. Another fact bearing on the problem is that the summer months are the period of greatest activity in rural industry and therefore of the least leisure. This in some measure counteracts the effect of the first fact. The winter months are usually the period when rural people can best afford to take recreation. Hunting, skating, snowshoeing, and similar activities, of course, are possible for the men and younger women, but indoor amusements and recreations must be provided for the others.

Probably the seasonal character of agricultural industry is the more important of the two facts just mentioned. Therefore rural recreations must be seasonal in order to fit in with rural life.

A comprehensive survey of rural sports and recreations as carried on in rural sections is very much needed. Until such a survey is made and the information brought together in compact form, our knowledge of the subject must remain fragmentary. However, a number of recreational activities are known to be fairly prevalent, at least in many sections of this country. One of these is the agricultural fair.

Ancient rural festivals. For centuries there has been a close connection between public markets and fairs, on the one hand, and popular amusements, on the other. The market is usually either a daily or a weekly event. Fairs, however, ordinarily occur only once a year, sometimes only once in a period of years. The most famous of these in ancient times were undoubtedly

the Olympic games. They apparently commenced in prehistoric times as religious celebrations. The coming together of large numbers of religious pilgrims, especially of such a vigorous and inventive people as the Greeks, led to many other activities, including games and sports. Even before the games and sports were developed, a great deal of trading took place. Thus the Olympic games came to be a great market or fair held once in seven years. In historic times the commanding features of these events were, of course, the athletic and literary contests.

It is interesting to note how intimately religion, business, and recreation were blended by these intensely religious, practical, and artistic Greeks, and later by the Romans. It has already been pointed out that the Roman Forum was primarily the market place, which was among the few spots in ancient times where people could meet and deal with one another on the basis of voluntary agreement among free citizens. By this practice they learned to apply the principle of voluntarism to other than business affairs. When they carried this principle into politics, it became democracy.

Wherever people meet voluntarily in the pursuit of any particular interest, it is highly probable that other interests will be expressed also. It frequently happens that when people come together in the pursuit of religious interests, business and play interests also find some expression. Trading and recreation were thus associated with religious celebrations. All through history these three interests have been frequently associated wherever large numbers of people came together and were free to do what they liked.

Medieval rural festivals. During the Middle Ages religious festivals flourished, — usually in the neighborhood of a shrine, a church, or some other place where violence was suspended. At these festivals men were free to do what they liked, whether this was worship, business, or play. These religious celebrations developed into the great medieval fairs, where a vast amount of trading was done, but where, in connection with every fair, there were many amusements. Fakirs were present with their deceptive tricks. There were also entertainers with their Punch and

Judy shows, and other amusements were presented by professional entertainers. Games and other social amusements were also developed.

Many of the greatest of these fairs were in large cities, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that many large cities developed out of the fairs that accompanied religious festivals. The most conspicuous of present examples is that of Nizhni Novgorod in Russia. A great fair was held, at least as far back as the seventh century, at Troyes, in France; from this we get our Troy weight. Probably the greatest of the English fairs was at Stourbridge, near Cambridge. This seems to have been based on a religious festival dating back to pre-Christian days.

Some of these fairs, however, were not only rural in their beginning but continued to be rural, at least as regards their location, even though they were patronized by city people as well as by country people. No one can fully understand the rural life of any part of Europe until he knows something of these fairs and festivals. Fair days were anticipated eagerly by rural dwellers, and, after passing, remained as green spots in their memory.

The agricultural fair in America. In this country the nearest approach to the Old World fair is what we call the county fair. As originally planned and as carried out for the first hundred years of its existence, the county-fair contests took the form of competitive exhibits of live stock and of agricultural and household products. The exhibition of horses naturally led to contests of speed and strength. Pulling contests for draft horses were less spectacular and on the whole less interesting than racing contests, especially in the country, where for many years roads were poor and most of the heavy pulling was done by oxen instead of by horses. In the older states, however, where oxen were largely used, pulling contests among teams of oxen became general. The horses were used mainly either for drawing light vehicles or for riding and racing. Racing contests, therefore, took precedence over pulling contests. Since the general substitution of the horse for the ox as a draft animal, some interest has developed among horsemen in pulling contests.

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One of the few things which Americans have done better than any other people in the world — the breeding of trotting horses — could hardly have been accomplished without the interest in horse-racing which developed in county fairs. For many years the chief attraction of the county fair, from the standpoint of amusement, was the horse race. Until as late as 1910 every farmer was interested in horses. Most of them loved a good horse, whether its virtue was measured by speed or by ability to pull a heavy load.

In its origin and purpose the county fair was primarily rural. The exhibits were mostly rural products and attracted larger numbers of rural than of urban people. It is still true that the county fair is attended mainly by rural people. Many of the features which attract them, however, are now supplied by town or city people. The breeding and training of race horses is more an urban than a rural enterprise. Those who participate actively in the sport are chiefly city people. Similarly, the side shows and other tawdry features that often mar the county fair are generally urban in their origin.

The long history and wide distribution of fairs on European soil, and the almost universal attendance of the peasant population of European countries upon them, furnished a memory background for our own people after they were transferred to American soil. This probably explains the rapid spread and the persistent growth of this most general and successful of all institutions in the United States for the amusement and recreation of rural people.

Other forms of rural recreation. It would be difficult to state what form of rural recreation is next in importance. A survey conducted at the University Farm, Minnesota,[1] attempted to find what social activities occupied the largest place in the lives of five hundred young men and women chosen at random from the best rural homes. The survey showed that on the average these five hundred young people attended 32 meeting-places from April to October during the season of 1922. Somewhat to the surprise of investigators it was found that of the 32 activities

[1] By G. A. Lundquist.

listed, church attendance ranked first, with an average of 11 times; second came the dance, with an average of 7; and the movies third, with an average of 5. The others were scattering. Whether or not this would be typical of all classes of rural people cannot now be stated. After all, five hundred young persons out of a nation are a very small number. When the girls of this group were asked whether they favored dancing, 19 per cent answered Yes and 81 per cent No; yet 63 per cent went to dances. This may indicate merely that rural people are inclined to accept whatever opportunities for diversion the neighborhood affords, whether they approve of them or not. This may apply even to church attendance, though further facts are needed before any statement of this kind could be made.

Dancing of one kind or another is probably the most universal form of amusement. It consists essentially of rhythmic movements of the muscles, and ranges all the way from tapping with the hands and feet to the exercitations of the whirling dervish. The psychological effects range from mild forms of self-hypnotism to a diabolical war fury, or from high states of religious exaltation to bestial lust. It is sometimes argued that it declines in relative importance as civilization advances. At least it would be reasonable to expect that as civilization advances, intellectual and artistic motives play a larger part in every form of activity. Dances would thus become more and more expressions of intellect and artistic appreciation. In spite of the reasonableness of this expectation, however, there seem to be occasional lapses into the more primitive forms of purely physical types.

Country dances seem to occupy a middle position between the wild war dance of the savage and the rhythmic body vibrations of the urban æsthete. In earlier days the favorite musical instrument was the violin, probably because it could be carried from place to place, which was an important consideration at a time when few country homes possessed pianos or other large instruments. Some of the rural fiddlers became local celebrities whose services were widely sought for country dances. Some of the more austere religious sects placed a ban on dancing as being

a kind of sinful self-indulgence calculated to take the mind off of serious subjects, and, since the violin or fiddle came to be associated with dancing, they looked on this as an instrument of the devil. In some communities the people were sharply divided between those who went to church and those who went to dances. However, a more tolerant spirit came later, and some religious organizations even held dances in the church buildings. No harm seems to have come of the change. Probably the real basis of the opposition of certain religionists to country dancing was the subconscious fear that it was calculated to stimulate the sexual impulse, which, among outdoor people, needs no artificial stimulation. As now conducted, it appears that the country dance is one of the most satisfactory of the available forms of recreation.

Musical events. Choral singing is almost as universal as dancing. In fact, in primitive life, dancing and choral singing usually go together. It is peculiarly adapted to country life for several reasons. In the first place, the human voice is the cheapest of all musical instruments and can therefore be afforded by the poor as well as by the rich. Again, when properly trained it is the most perfect of all musical instruments. If rural people do not develop choral singing, it is not due to lack of instruments or opportunities but to lack of interest or competent teachers.

There is evidence that interest is not lacking in various parts of the country. The frequent "all-day sings" of many Southern rural neighborhoods call out a great deal of enthusiasm and effort. If the interest already shown could be spread over the rest of the country until there was an adequate demand for competent instructors and trainers, choral singing might easily become one of the outstanding features of rural life in America.

Other musical interests will be found in our rural communities. The annual fiddlers' contest has long existed in certain rural neighborhoods, and at least one great state university has risen to the opportunity and made it a feature of the annual Farmers' Week. A surprising amount of native talent is said to emerge from the most unexpected places and the most remote corners.

Special annual celebrations. In parts of western New York and Pennsylvania, and probably in some of the surrounding states, the annual firemen's convention has become a rural festival of the first magnitude. The fire companies of rural villages gather from wide areas for a joint parade and a general jollification. The recent development of interest in rodeos, or round-ups, and frontier-day celebrations in the Far West should also be classed as rural. They at least attempt to revive some of the spectacular features of the rural life of earlier days. Cattle ranching and all the labors that were associated with cattle ranching were, of course, rural enterprises and occupations. Even the fact that many of the participants in this annual celebration now have their headquarters in New York City does not destroy the rural character of the events. The memory background is rural, the thing revived or pictured in new form is rural, even when the performers are urban.

Athletics and physical training. It used to occasion somewhat derisive comment to suggest a need of athletics and physical training for rural young people. It was assumed that young people who grew up in the country had all the physical exercise they needed. In quantity perhaps that was true. Physical measurement of soldiers in the World War, however, revealed a woeful lack in the development of young men from the rural districts. It is more or less a matter of chance whether a young man on a farm gets from his work just the right kind and amount of exercise. The odds are that he will be overdeveloped in certain muscles and underdeveloped in others. In fact, corrective gymnastics seem to be more needed in the country than in the city.

A few good games participated in regularly and frequently by country people are also necessary to develop certain of the psychological and moral qualities that routine farm work can never by any possibility develop. So much farm work is done in isolation as to deprive the worker of the intellectual and moral advantages of athletics. This deficiency must be supplied before it can be said that country life furnishes all the advantages for physical training that the individual needs. However, mass

athletics in the country as well as in the city need to be safeguarded. Small, undeveloped boys are likely to be injured if they play with larger, heavier, and more fully developed young men. Teams should be selected with a view to the welfare of the child rather than to the winning of games. Large boys ought to be excluded from teams which are organized for the interest of small boys, and vice versa. Even the moral advantages of mass athletics are defeated when boys of varying degrees of strength and weight are forced to compete with one another. A careful examination and selection of all country children who expect to participate in mass athletics is a necessary preliminary.

Not only games but gymnastic exercises should be planned to meet the needs of children of different ages and should be carefully supervised. Since the greatest growth occurs between the years of nine and twelve, the activities should be designed to meet the needs of that period, especially simple games that give free play to the large muscles of the chest, back, and abdomen. With the next age group — that is, from twelve to fifteen years — there should be the kind of tests in skill and courage that will result in developing good heart action. Throwing, jumping, and exercises with various gymnastic apparatus, as well as certain fairly easy exercises in endurance, alertness, and bearing, should follow. From fifteen to seventeen, trials may be extended to tests of still greater endurance and fortitude, such as ability to stand fatigue, or willingness to undertake somewhat hazardous exercises.

Special emphasis should be laid upon those games and forms of exercise that develop what routine work on the farm can never supply, namely, zest in living and the ability to respond quickly to new stimuli.

The automobile a means of recreation. There is one form of recreation which, in its technical sense at least, is somewhat new in the history of the world, — that is, the automobile tour. Any visitor to our national parks in the late summer will see thousands of farm families with their automobiles and camping outfits, picnicking in the woods. This custom has grown to such

magnitude as to astonish — in some cases to embarrass — the authorities in charge of the national parks, though they have responded to the growing demand in a magnificent manner. More than ten million persons visit our national parks annually. It is estimated that at least eight million come by automobile.

Fundamentally there are few greater delights than riding in a well-constructed wheel vehicle of any kind at a high rate of speed. The baby in his gocart does not have to be taught to like it, and the grown-up in his glorified perambulator, the automobile, likes it as well as the baby. There is also something in our ancestral psychology that makes us love a camp fire, possibly because our ancestors, not so many generations back, were wild men. The combination of a self-propelling gocart and a camp fire has proved irresistible to multitudes of Americans, and the main highways, especially the transcontinental ones, are littered with tourists and tourist camps all summer long.

The old and the new. These new forms of amusement and recreation are supplying a very definite need. They are taking the place of old forms that passed out of existence some time ago, such as the log-rollings, barn-raisings, husking bees, sheep-washings and sheep-shearings, and other events that characterized many of our pioneer communities. In the grain-growing regions the annual threshing season still brings with it some opportunities for neighborhood gatherings. In spite of the fact that threshing is prodigiously hard work and has to be taken pretty seriously, there are many communities that manage to get a certain amount of fun out of it, and there are still possibilities for development in this direction.

The general tendency, however, is toward the standardization and mechanization of farm work. This tends to remove the opportunities for the older kinds of amusement. It is fortunate, therefore, that the combination of the automobile, the good-roads movement, and the government policy with respect to national parks is furnishing opportunities to take the place of those that are gone.

QUESTIONS

1. How would you distinguish between work and play?

2. Someone has said that being a good sport is about the highest form of morality attainable by human beings. Just what does this statement mean and what do you think of it?

3. Should rural people copy the forms of recreation adopted by city people or should they develop their own forms of recreation?

4. Was baseball originally a city sport, a rural sport, or a village sport? How about fox-hunting, horse-racing, pitching horseshoes, bowling, curling?

5. What can you say in favor of dancing and choral singing as forms of rural recreation?

6. To what extent are the county and state fairs recreational and to what extent are they educational?

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CHAPTER XXIV

RURAL LEADERSHIP

The man who knows. There are so many different kinds of leadership that it is difficult to discuss the problem of rural leadership comprehensively in a single chapter. A group of scientists were once exploring in a wild section of the country and became lost. In the group was a vast amount of knowledge of the geological, climatic, botanical, and zoölogical facts concerning the region they were exploring. One important bit of knowledge was entirely lacking, however, — the way out of the wilderness. By good fortune they met a native who on most other subjects was woefully ignorant, but who on the one important subject was well informed. He knew the way out. That fact made him automatically, by the grace of God, the leader of the group for the time being. He could show the way. It was not necessary that he inspire them with a desire to escape. They already possessed it. It was not necessary that he possess the personal magnetism that would induce them to follow him. They would have followed anybody who knew the way.

One important form of leadership, therefore, is based on knowledge. He who knows the essential thing, who knows what others need to know, is at once leader or king of that particular situation.

Persuasion. Another group of men in another situation were lost but did not know it. They thought they were going the right way but were mistaken. If they had persisted in going as they were headed, they would have become more and more deeply involved. By good fortune they met with a man who knew that they were lost, but he had to convince them of it. If he had been unable to convince them, he would not have been the leader. Because he was able to convince them that they were headed the wrong way, they faced about and followed him.

In this case leadership required something more than knowledge: it required the power of persuasion.

This is another important form of leadership, namely, that which is based upon the power of persuasion. Sometimes, however, a leader may possess the power of persuasion and lack knowledge. Suppose the party in question had been really headed in the right direction and were not lost. If they had had the misfortune to meet with a person who had great power of persuasion and no knowledge of the country, he might have persuaded them to turn in another direction, in which case they would have been lost because of his leadership. Therefore, as between knowledge and the power of persuasion, knowledge is vastly more important.

Inspiration. A third party in an unknown wilderness neither knew whither they were headed nor cared. One way seemed to them as good as another. By good fortune they fell in with a man who knew that the way they were headed led to destruction. He had not only the power of persuasion but the power to inspire them with a desire to avoid destruction and to achieve safety. There were three factors in his leadership: first, his knowledge; second, his power of persuasion; and third and most important of all, the power to make them care, to make them feel that one way was better than another, that the end of one journey was more desirable than the end of another. Having made them desire to go somewhere or care for something, he next had to persuade them that the road toward the desirable end was different from the one they were pursuing.

This is the highest and most difficult form of leadership. It requires, in addition to knowledge and power of persuasion, a magnetic personality that can change motives, — get people to care for things for which they formerly did not care, and to cease caring for things for which they formerly cared.

Three kinds of leadership. We may define leadership, then, in three ways: first, and simplest, it is knowledge, or the ability to show others the way; secondly, it is the power of persuading others that one actually knows the way they should go; thirdly, it is the power to inspire them with a desire to go in the right way.

Every great society resembles in some respects this group of men in the wilderness. The world in which the great group called society develops is a puzzling and complicated affair. Men find themselves in many situations in which it is difficult to determine which is the way out. Knowledge is unequally distributed. Some know more than others about any situation that may arise. They who possess this gift of knowledge in any individual situation are, in that situation, the natural leaders. If in addition to the gift of knowledge they possess the gift of persuasion, or if, in addition to these two gifts, they possess also the gift of inspiration, they become the great outstanding leaders of the people.

Every rural problem gives rise to much discussion and contradiction. Men try to move this way and that. Some understand the situation better than others. It is fortunate for any rural community if the one who really knows possesses also power to persuade and to inspire. The community that is so fortunate as to possess such a person will be wisely led and will grow into a great and prosperous community.

The selection of leaders. Some might insist, however, that in every large community there are always potential leaders, — men who really know what to do, — and the fault is with the community in not being able to discover such persons. In other words, it may be said with some degree of fairness that the lack of wise followers is the real difficulty. However, it is probable that the two statements are merely the opposite sides of the same shield. A community that is wise enough to select good leaders and to follow them will always have good leaders. On the other hand, a community which is fortunate enough to have combined in the same individual an accurate knowledge and great powers of persuasion and of inspiration will always follow the right leader.

As suggested above, knowledge is the most important factor in constructive leadership. The world has never lacked demagogues, — men who have great powers of persuasion without adequate knowledge or clear understanding of the problems which they face. The devices by which the demagogue suc-

ceeds in persuading others to follow him are sometimes exceedingly crude and primitive, sometimes exceedingly subtle and sophisticated. Perhaps the most crude and primitive is magic. The Indian medicine man, who pretends to make "big medicine" and by a series of clever tricks persuades his ignorant fellow tribesmen that he possesses some occult knowledge or power, is a fair example. There is, of course, in the modern world no room for magic of any kind.

However, there are less crude and primitive methods of deluding followers than the exercise of so-called magical power. One of the most subtle and effective is the use of phrases or slogans which have generally been accepted as truths but which will not bear scientific testing or logical analysis. For example, many expressions in which the word "human" is used come under this classification. One demagogue stands for "human rights as against property rights." Another believes in being "human rather than rational." Still another "prizes human beings more than goods," and so on and so on.

To begin with, property has no rights: only human beings have rights, among these human rights being the right of property. There is, therefore, no possible contrast between human rights and property rights, because the so-called property right is a human right. Again, if there is anything that distinguishes human beings from brutes it is in the human being's character of rationality. There can be no possible contrast between being human and being rational because being human is being rational. To be irrational is to be a brute rather than a human being. Yet the word "human" is commonly used by demagogues to mean those qualities which we possess in common with the brutes rather than those qualities which distinguish us from the brutes. Again, the very word "good" itself, or "goods," means something that is good for man. If it is not good for human beings it is not a good. "Production for service rather than profits" is another phrase equally misleading, because it appeals to ignorance. It is no more accurate than such an expression as "Production for service rather than for wages." Expressions of this kind that are commonly accepted

by the uncritical as demonstrable truths often turn out to be errors. The demagogue is exceedingly skillful in the use of such terms. He differs from the medicine man, who appeals to magic, only in the form of his deception.

Making people want the right things. Power to make people desire the right things is perhaps the highest type of leadership. To begin with, it requires a profound knowledge of ultimate values. The man who really knows what is everlastingly worth while is the wisest kind of man. If he can succeed even in some small degree in imparting that knowledge to his fellow men and inspiring them with a desire to gain the things that are worth while, he becomes a great factor in nation-building and in the improvement of the human race.

When one stops to think, it is, of course, perfectly clear that if people happen to desire something which does them harm rather than good, the more efficiently the industry of the country can produce that article the worse it is for the people. In other words, more efficiency in production may impoverish and destroy, as well as enrich and build up, the people. If, however, the people happen to desire the right things or are led by some great leaders to desire them, then industrial efficiency is beneficial in the highest degree.

Organizers are leaders. Organization seems to be the keynote of the modern world. One of the most distinctive features of industry is the extent to which the organization of large numbers of men has displaced the isolated efforts of individual men. Even in politics the well-organized party seems to be more effective than individual voting without regard to party affiliations. The organization of those who follow different occupations, such as the various professional organizations and the various labor unions, illustrates the same general tendency. From this it follows as a matter of course that among the greatest of modern leaders we find great organizers. That is to say, as organization is one of the great needs of the modern world, organizers, or those who can achieve the necessary organization, are the great leaders. The individual who can coördinate the efforts of large numbers of men is needed in every field of endeavor.

Agricultural interests have lagged behind almost every other interest in the matter of organization. One of the great needs of rural workers is for leaders who can bring about effective organization among them. Since the first decade of the present century, farmers in increasing numbers have been realizing this great weakness in rural life and are beginning to take measures to correct it. But in the solution of this problem, as in the solution of every other, the need for wise leaders is acute. There is no lack of would-be leaders who base their claims to leadership upon lung power rather than brain power. One great difficulty in rural organization is found in the fact that rural people, of all people, are the least expert in detecting the difference between the false and the true in human speech. They hear less of the kind of talk that is sometimes called mere palaver than city people do. The hollow sound of demagogic speech is less easily detected by rural ears, which hear it so seldom, than by urban ears, which hear it so often.

Can leaders be trained? It is commonly asserted that leaders, like poets, are born and not made. There is an element of truth in this, just as there is in the proposition as applied to every calling. Thus it is true, in a somewhat special sense, that teachers are born and not made. However, such teaching ability as one is born with may be considerably improved by proper training. It might be said that business managers are born and not made, and yet the same qualification holds; that is, whatever business ability a man is born with may be improved by the right kind of training. So it is with every possible occupation. It is not too much to say that this applies even to the question of leadership. Whatever powers of leadership a man may have inherited can be improved by proper training. The real question is, Can we find a system of training or education that will actually increase the power of leadership?

This almost answers itself when we consider that the first essential of leadership is knowledge. Knowledge can be increased by sound education, but in order to make knowledge a factor in leadership it must be knowledge of the needs of the people and the things the people need to know. It is, of course,

futile to expect moral leadership from a man whose sole experience lies in his knowledge of ancient languages and his power of textual criticism. Such a person's knowledge of what the world really wants to know is negligible. It is also futile to expect rural leadership from a man whose knowledge is confined to things that rural people do not need to know. A man who can really show them how to make two blades of grass grow where one grew before is certain to be appreciated, followed, and even revered. One trained in technical agriculture or in those special sciences that underlie the art of growing plants and animals has at least the first requisite for leadership.

In recent years, however, farmers in this country have begun to feel that the economic factors in agricultural prosperity are quite as important as the technical scientific factors. The one who knows the solution of the economic problems of the farmer should therefore be an even greater leader than the one who knows the technical scientific problems of the farmer. This would be true were it not for one disturbing factor. Unfortunately a great many farmers have been misled into believing that they know as much about economics as the trained expert, or perhaps it is more nearly correct to say that they have been misled into believing that the shrewd talker knows more economics than the most highly trained student. Therefore they are sometimes more likely to follow the advice of the shrewd and vehement talker than that of the dispassionate and analytical economist. This characteristic is probably the greatest obstacle to agricultural progress in any part of the world today.

Leaders and men of distinction. The difference between leaders and men of distinction should be kept clear. Of course, there is a somewhat special sense in which every man of distinction is a leader in some field of human effort, but he is a leader only in the sense that he is ahead of others. He is not a leader in the stricter sense of having followers who actually follow his direction or act upon his advice. A great organizer or a popular politician definitely influences men not in a general and impersonal way but in a direct and personal way. They obey his orders, they follow his advice, they vote as he suggests,

and they perform other conscious acts as followers. On the other hand, an eminent scientist may make many discoveries and be ahead of his time. Others may follow him in an impersonal way when they study his books and follow his conclusions. They may follow his methods in the laboratory and extend their own information. In this indirect and impersonal way he may be called a leader, but he is not a leader in the sense in which we are discussing leadership in this chapter.

Nevertheless, some study of men of distinction in various fields of human endeavor may throw light on the question of leadership. That is to say, one among the many forms in which men distinguish themselves is that of exercising positive leadership over their fellow men. In other words, leaders form one class in a large group called men of distinction. A community that does not lack men of distinction is not likely to lack leaders, though there may be occasional exceptions to this.

Whence come leaders? There have been many discussions as to the source from which leaders spring. One of the important questions in this discussion is, Do the country districts produce their share or more than their share of men of distinction? This in itself presents a problem which has not yet been satisfactorily solved. A man must be an exceedingly conspicuous business man to achieve high distinction, but one who has written a rather poor book or who occupies a minor academic position is tolerably certain to have his name enrolled among the distinguished men of the country or listed in "Who's Who." For the more or less ornamental, or talking, occupations urban life has many advantages over rural life. Even though a "Who's Who" were published mainly for city people, it might choose to give as much weight to success in business as to success in letters, science, or the fine arts. If it did so, the list of names contained would be different from the list now published. Such a list would probably contain more people of rural birth than the present "Who's Who" contains.

Some rough-and-ready tests, which, although highly unscientific, are nevertheless interesting pieces of evidence, have tended to show that the rural districts produce more than their

share of achievement. When, for example, a business men's club is polled to find the percentage of country-born and city-born members, the country shows up a little better than it does in "Who's Who."

Dr. F. A. Woods[1] has found that 30 per cent of the persons listed in "Who's Who" were born in the city, whereas at the time they were born only 16 per cent of the population was urban. Dr. Cattell [2] has found that one seventh of the population, comprising the largest cities, produced 26 per cent of the great scientists, or 1.83 times its pro rata share. Dr. George B. Davies [3] has made a careful study of urban and rural states, and finds that the city excels the country in a ratio of 76 to 59. Dr. W. J. Spillman, however, disputes some of these findings and bases his contention on a study made of prominent men in agriculture at the time. He finds that 92 per cent of the presidents of the United States, 91 per cent of the governors, 83.9 per cent of the cabinet officers, 70.6 per cent of the United States senators, 64 per cent of the members of the House of Representatives, and 55.4 per cent of the railway presidents were country-born.[4] From this it appears that the country is considerably more successful in producing men with political talents than the city, whereas the city would appear to be somewhat more successful in producing men of letters and men of science. It is true that in an earlier day many of our presidents and other men of distinction were actual farmers, but the overwhelming majority of our people lived in the country in those days. The real question is, Does the country furnish a larger proportion of urban leaders in proportion to the total number of persons born in the country than the cities themselves furnish? The answer is No. Several investigations have shown that the country actually supplies a smaller number.

It may be asked, of course, why the country should be expected to furnish not only its own leaders but leaders for city

[1] Mental and Moral Heredity in Royalty. Henry Holt and Company, 1906.

[2] See J. M. Cattell's "American Men of Science" (Third Edition), pp. 784–785. The Science Press, New York, 1921.

[3] Social Environment, pp. 106–107.

[4] See J. M. Gillette's "Rural Sociology," p. 522.

enterprises and professions as well. It would be as pertinent to ask, in this connection, why so few rural leaders are city-born as to ask why so small a proportion of urban leaders are country-born. No one seems to expect rural leaders to be city-born, because there is no appreciable migration from city to country. On the other hand, the fact that any considerable number of country-born persons become leaders in urban life is at least something to their credit. They work under certain obvious outward handicaps, and the fact that so many overcome these handicaps indicates that they possess elements of strength. The case of the country-bred person who migrates to the city is somewhat similar to that of an immigrant from a foreign country who tries to adjust himself to the conditions in this country.

When immigrants furnish any considerable number of leaders in this country, it is very much to their credit, for they have had to overcome such handicaps as lack of acquaintance with our ways, lack of experience under our institutions, and different habits of life. To overcome these they must be possessed of unusual ability or strength of character. The condition of the country boy in a big city is somewhat similar, even though his handicaps are not so great. The country boy at once enters into competition with city boys who "know the ropes" and whose dress and manners are those of his superiors in business or professional life. Besides, the city boy is more likely to have acquaintances who are in a position to help him. In the long run, these advantages on the part of the city boy may not count for much; yet there is something for the country boy to overcome. The country boy has to jump a slightly higher hurdle than the city boy, just as the immigrant has to jump a higher hurdle than the native-born.

Comparisons based upon the number of individuals from country and city whose names get into "Who's Who" are defective. If someone were to publish a rural "Who's Who," containing the names of all those who have achieved conspicuous success in rural industry and life, it might seem to show that cities had not made their proportionate contributions to this

list. This would not prove much, however, because no one expects cities to produce rural leaders.

As a matter of fact "Who's Who" is really an urban "Who's Who." The man who applies great executive ability and scientific knowledge to agriculture may get good crops and make profit for himself; he may also win local recognition, particularly among farmers; but unless he talks or writes about it, he does not gain general recognition. In proof of this, let anyone look through "Who's Who in America," which is supposed to contain the names of those who have achieved marked success in every large field of human endeavor. Judging by its pages, either agriculture is not a large field of human endeavor or else there are no markedly successful farmers. Choosing those states in which agriculture is commonly supposed to be important, we find in the edition of 1924–1925 almost no farmers. The number of distinguished persons who are connected with agriculture and allied fields of work is as follows:

Maine: 1 agriculturist, 1 plant pathologist
Ohio: 1 stock-breeder, 1 farmer, 1 agricultural expert, 2 agriculturists, 1 horticulturist, 1 breeder, 2 professors of agriculture
Indiana: none
Illinois: 1 farm manager, 1 dairy husbandman, 1 fruit-grower, 1 farmer, 1 horticulturist, 1 agronomist
Iowa: 1 agricultural educator, 1 agriculturist, 1 agricultural engineer, 1 farmer, 1 seedsman
Kansas: 1 stockman, 2 agronomists, 1 horticulturist, 1 agriculturist
Nebraska: 1 agriculturist, 1 horticulturist

This lack of recognition of the farmer is not, of course, the fault of the editors of "Who's Who." They include in their publication only the names which are widely known or talked about. The fact that an eminently successful farmer is not widely known or talked about is due to the fact that our people have no interest in that kind of achievement.

Why agricultural leaders are not appreciated. People who live in rich and highly favored regions, where food is abundant and living easy, are not commonly very religious. Paradoxically, they have so much that they fail to appreciate it, and do not

feel that they have anything to be thankful for; hence their general attitude toward religion is one of indifference. People who live in poor countries, where the food supply is precarious and general living conditions are uncertain, are likely to appreciate good things when they have them, to give thanks to their God for abundance, and to supplicate in times of scarcity. This seems to be a part of the general law of valuation. Air, sunshine, the green of the trees and grass, are taken as matters of course. Only the rare things are appreciated. Similarly, we generally take farmers as a matter of course. There are so many of them, and they keep us so well supplied, that we think no more about them than we do about air and sunshine. If there were fewer of them, and if, in consequence, our food supply were scarce and precarious, we should appreciate them more. A great producer of food would be much talked about; in fact, he might even be supplicated and placated with words of adulation.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the meaning of leadership and describe its three main forms.

2. Which is the more important, that people should want the right things or that they should find the most efficient method of providing for such desires as they happen to feel?

3. Would you distinguish between leaders and men of distinction? If so, how would you distinguish between them?

4. Is it possible to train leaders or must they be born and not made?

5. Suppose it should be found that a majority of those who lead in urban affairs are city-born. Would that signify that the city produced more leaders than the country? Suppose it were found, on the other hand, that most of those who lead in agriculture and rural affairs are country-born. Would this signify that the country produces more leaders than the cities?

6. What does an analysis of "Who's Who" reveal (1) as to the number of "eminent" farmers, (2) as to the general attitude of the reading public with reference to farming as compared with other occupations?

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